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# Classical Journal

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ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION  
OF THE PACIFIC STATES

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Number 5

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the cooperation of the  
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## Editorial

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### ARE YOU GUILTY?

It is likely that few Latin teachers are aware that they may be infringing the copyright law and subject to a considerable penalty in case any proprietor wishes to stand upon his rights. Especially in times like the present, when teachers wish to diversify their work with the minimum of expense to their students, are they likely to use mimeographed material taken from books contrary to the provisions of Federal law. Therefore in the interest not only of the authors of books but also of teachers who are unconscious of the possibly serious consequences of what they are doing, I am glad to comply with the request of the National Association of Book Publishers, with offices at 347 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., to call attention to the following circular distributed by them.

R. C. F.

#### ILLEGAL USE OF COPYRIGHT MATERIAL IN BOOKS

##### *A Statement from the National Association of Book Publishers*

In the past two years there has been a startling increase in the use of literary property without the permission of the author or the copyright owner. Professors and teachers lift pages, in some cases even chapters, from copyright books and duplicate them for distribution to students, without realizing that this practice is unethical and illegal and a definite handicap to the future production of scholarly work.

The federal copyright laws give to the author (or publisher if he is the copyright owner) "the exclusive right to print, reprint, publish, *copy* and vend the copyrighted work." Copying without specific permission from the copyright proprietor is contrary to the law and the person who uses book material without authorization is liable for prosecution.

Often teachers who duplicate material for distribution to students are thoughtless of the rights of the matter, but in so doing they are violating the law and doing grave wrong to authors and publishers. Copyright control is granted authors not for the sole purpose of selfish aggrandizement, but to encourage research authorship, and publishing initiative and investment.

Since so many members of the teaching profession are authors themselves, they should understand that the practice of copying books, if applied to their own books, would necessarily cut down their royalties and would also be unfair to the publisher who has thousands of dollars invested in producing the books. New books could not be brought out if they were not accorded copyright protection, and all civilized countries recognize this and safeguard literary property.

#### AN OLD REMINDER ONCE MORE

Would-be contributors to the CLASSICAL JOURNAL not only throw an unnecessary burden upon the editors but also run the risk of being asked to retype their MSS by failing to prepare them in accordance with the editorial practices of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL. A pamphlet entitled "Suggestions to CLASSICAL JOURNAL Contributors" will be sent in reply to a request addressed to the editor-in-chief at Iowa City.



## CICERO IN THE STATE HOUSE

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By RICHARD M. GUMMERE  
William Penn Charter School, Germantown, Pa.

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It was a typically hot summer day in 1743. Cambridge sweltered at the Harvard Commencement exercises. A master's thesis was in process of delivery by an ambitious and stubborn young Puritan. The title was of course in Latin, and so was the discourse itself: "Is it right to resist the highest authority if by doing otherwise the State is unable to be preserved? The argument is upheld in the affirmative, by Samuel Adams." Backed by numerous classical instances, as well as by appeals to the Common Law, the young orator anticipated all the fire and persuasion that set him thirty years later at the head of the Sons of Liberty. And as one muses over the title of this challenge to tradition, the mind runs at once the whole historical gamut of Continental Congress, Declaration, Constitutional Convention, and the final debates on the form of our Republican Government — popularized by many a Whig political club, but conceived and expressed in its beginnings through the medium of Latin and in terms of reference to classical models.

In 1760 a young teacher published a textbook entitled *Rudiments of Latin Prosody* — a set of regulations for students who desired to plumb the metrical mysteries of Vergil and Horace. And just one year later the author, James Otis, stepped to the front of the Colonial stage with his famous speech against the issue of Writs of Assistance and the right to search without specific warrant for smuggled goods. Adams and Otis had left Harvard together; and together they searched for precedents in antiquity to back up their theories of independence. The Latin textbook of Otis had less connection with his subsequent political interests than the speech of Adams had with his Whig career;

but the Latin background was ever in the lives and writings and speeches of both men.

During these same years Thomas Jefferson was spending his time in reading from Greek and Latin texts at William and Mary College, sitting up late with George Wythe and other friends in discussion of ancient republics, age-crusted legal codes, and various systems of philosophy. It is significant that these three men — Adams, Otis, and Jefferson, the vanguard of Colonial polemic — lived in a classical atmosphere until their ideas were formed and their policies settled. Was it this sort of training which prompted Pitt's remarks<sup>1</sup> when the papers of the First Continental Congress were laid before the House of Lords on January 20th, 1775: "I have read Thucydides and have studied and admired the master-states of the world . . . no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress at Philadelphia"? Their Latin terminology and the atmosphere of the Roman Forum as reflected in their proceedings were no mere catchwords; the tradition of Rome was as vitalizing an agency to these Colonials in a political sense as the "brown Greek manuscripts" and the mellow minuscules of Cicero were to the fathers of the Italian Renaissance in the field of literature.

This habit of harking back to Athens and Latium was in itself not an original affair with the transatlantic settlers. The whole conception of a colony and of the theory of "plantations" was similarly pervasive in the councils of Old England. The usual prospectus of a colonizing expedition, published in London in the early seventeenth century, frequently read like the epic description of an Argonaut voyage. The motif of the Fortunate Islands, going back to Malocello's thirteenth-century discovery of the Canaries, and to subsequent dazzling geographical exploits, had prepared people for a remarkable combination of business and romance in colonization. Prince Henry of Portugal had studied classical tales of African circumnavigation. Vaughan's style of advertising Newfoundland is a picturesque piece of jargon: "The Golden Fleece . . . transported from Cambrioll Colchos, out of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. C. Tyler, *Literary History of the American Revolution* I, 330.

the Southernmost Part of the Island commonly called the New-foundland, by Orpheus Junior, London, 1626." The word "Cambrioll" is a modest announcement that Vaughan was a Welshman. And Vaughan's fellow-planter, Master Robert Hayman, published in 1628 "Quodlibets, lately come over from New Britannia." Avalon, Norumbega, struck many an imagination as full of publicity possibilities. Eggleston<sup>2</sup> calls all these circulars "a jumble of mythology, allegory, political economy, verse in English and Latin, theology, satire, and a general medley." So it was also with the earliest expeditions to Virginia. Sir Thomas Gates, writing in 1610 "On the Character of the First Colonists," fills his pamphlet with Latin tags such as, *Dii laboribus omnia vendunt*, "It is at the price of toil that the gods sell all privileges." Oglethorpe's prospectus for Georgia, in much later days, seeks a Roman precedent: "The Romans esteemed the sending forth of colonies among their noblest works"; he suggested that his fellow-countrymen go and do likewise. Hooker's theory of Connecticut as a state was derived from many ancient treatises and sources. This curious mixing of business and romance is well exemplified by George Sandys, who went out to Virginia in 1621 as a sort of commercial agent and translated Ovid during his generous leisure.

The Spanish conception<sup>2</sup> of an overseas settlement may be contrasted with the English method, the one being close-knit with the mother country and having no freedom whatever of self-determination, and the other much looser in its formation and controlled by a London company largely for purposes of trade. The French idea resembled the Spanish more closely than the English; while the Dutch, Swedish, and German efforts to get a colonial foothold had neither the strictly bound rules of the Latin countries nor the more autonomous features of the English. It is a curious fact that the English system more closely resembles the Roman than any other.<sup>3</sup> Gracchus had founded seaport col-

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. Eggleston, *Beginnings of a Nation* 261; E. P. Cheyney, *European Background of American History* 50 f., 123 f.; E. G. Bourne, *Spain in America* 196 f., 308; A. B. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries* II, 110.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. F. F. Abbott, *Roman Politics* (The Debt to Greece and Rome series);

onies to encourage Mediterranean trade, with groups of Roman citizens at Carthage, Tarentum, and other ports. There was in such cases a tithe or half-tithe due annually to Rome. But the evils of the Roman system, as in the case of the British also, resulted from the abuse of a theory rather than from any fault in the theory itself. The Roman colony, with its federated autonomous states, which as Frank<sup>4</sup> says, "had surrendered their political hegemony without the payment of a tribute," as well as the independent municipalities which dotted the Empire, was near to the American Colonial model. Rome's abuse of Sicily as an overlordship appropriated from Carthage corresponds to the high-handedness of the Lords of Trade and Plantations from the end of the seventeenth century until the outbreak of the American Revolution. Rome had state-controlled mines under the supervision of an imperial procurator, just as the agents from London claimed the "King's Timber" in New Hampshire. A colony like Cremona or Placentia in Northern Italy, though founded under far different auspices, bears a constitutional resemblance in citizen status to Massachusetts Bay; but with the exception of the Social War, matters resulted more comfortably for the ancient settlers, who ran their own affairs without detaching themselves geographically from the Roman state. The *conventus*<sup>5</sup> of Romans or Italians in local towns consisting of jurors whom the governor called in when trying a provincial case finds a frequent parallel in the dealings of a Massachusetts royal governor with the General Court or the Colonial Assembly.

It was not therefore a case of *imperium in imperio*, "an empire within an empire," when the London Company carried on its affairs under the patronage of the Crown; it was a real outlying *imperium* in itself. And when Cradock, in 1629, resigned the

Boston, Marshall Jones Co. [now handled by Longmans, Green, and Co.] (1923), 22 f., 34, 36 f., 42 (international representation in the Roman Senate), 108 f., 120 f. (magistrates on a "home-rule" basis). Also, J. S. Reid, *The Municipalities of the Roman Empire*: Cambridge, University Press (1913), *passim*, but especially 26 and 52.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. T. Frank, *Economic History of Rome*: Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (1920), 128, 84-92, 144, 260-62, and 150.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Reid, *op. cit.* 189 and 199.

governorship of Massachusetts Bay before the planters sailed, in order that John Winthrop could carry the charter with him after being elected in Cradock's place, the colonists had this very idea — of an outlying *imperium* all their own. Cradock thus kept a financial chairmanship in London; and the group of pioneers staved off London control and kept home rule intact for several decades, until the royal mouth watered and royal governors came to interfere. John Dickinson, in his second Letter of the *Pennsylvania Farmer* series, refers, in connection with British revenue regulations, to the Carthaginian rule forbidding the Sardinians to raise corn or get it in any other way than from the Carthaginians. The Tory Daniel Leonard argues with John Adams<sup>6</sup> on this subject of autonomy, holding that colonies are "a part of the state equal with a nation's ancient possessions"; Adams maintains that while the Greeks regarded colonies as "distinctly independent commonwealths," "the Romans continued their colonies under the jurisdiction of the mother commonwealth, but nevertheless they allowed them the privilege of cities." And he concludes, in one of his *Novanglus* papers, "It was the policy of Rome to conciliate her colonies by allowing them equal liberties with her citizens: witness the example of the Privernates."<sup>7</sup> The whole question is puzzling because of the different degrees of independence of ancient Roman settlements; but these inadequate references are enough to prove the prevalence of debate and precedent. Even the New England towns have been paralleled with the Greek system.<sup>8</sup> One historian holds that early provincial villages developed on the analogy of the Greek city, Woburn throwing out a new shoot from Charlestown, Medfield from Dedham, Nahant from Lynn. But this last is a far-fetched simile; what else could an overgrown town in the wilderness do except throw off new settlements?

Even after the establishment of our republic, such precedents were sought; and historians have interpreted accordingly. Profes-

<sup>6</sup> Cf. J. Adams, *Novanglus*, No. 7, Jan., 1775.

<sup>7</sup> For the Privernates, cf. Livy VIII, 20 f.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. L. Mumford, *Sticks and Stones* 16.



sor Morison<sup>9</sup> tells us that, with regard to the management of the new United States territories, "a new American Colonial policy, Greek in spirit and Roman in form, was adumbrated as early as 1780, and adopted in 1790." It was Roman in the freedom by which, with certain Federal reservations, the offshoot of the central power might develop and legislate for itself. The whole agrarian and land-distributing method of the last decade of the eighteenth century may be compared with the Roman. Even in 1851 the law limiting land tenure was objected to as a "Licinian law, repudiated at Rome over two thousand years ago." And when Jackson hanged Arbuthnot, Clay remarked in the senate: "It was in the provinces that were laid the seeds of the ambitious projects that overturned the liberties of Rome." The ancient colonial idea in Greek and Roman dress haunted the deliberations of the Continental Congress and all bodies which pondered on American legislative problems.

Hand in hand with this trend in advertising and administering colonies went the machinery of the law as it was transported from England. Mrs. Hiden<sup>10</sup> tells us that in early Virginia Latin played a large part in the legal and inscriptional life of the colonists. Northampton County has preserved unbroken records from January, 1632, to the present day — perhaps the oldest continuous records in the United States. At the beginning and at the end of Virginia documents were Latin phrases on the English model. October 17th is *17mo. Octobris*; Kalends, Nones, and Ides are, however, discarded; the year of the reigning sovereign was expressed *primo anno Caroli Secundi*, etc. At the end of the will came some original embellishment by the clerk: *Iuratur coram me; ducenta solidae bonae et legalis monetae Angliae; in libro curiali; tabellionis mei sigillum apposui rogatus* — and so on, with variations. The clerks were scholars, the custom was transplanted from England, and the frontier conditions did not result in abandoning the ancient way. Tithes, *armiger*, etc., were Latin; parish registers use the *nat.* and *ob.*

<sup>9</sup> Cf. S. E. Morison, *Oxford History of the U. S.* I, 186, 190, 438, 341.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Martha W. Hiden, "Latin in Colonial Virginia," *Class. Weekly* xxii (1928), 41-45.

of tombstones; bonds of officeholders were sometimes wholly in Latin. The charter of William and Mary obliged the college to pay "two copies of Latin verse to the governor every fifth of November as quit-rent for its lands." And as late as 1752 the President took oath of office in Latin. There is nothing unusual in all this, for English-bred colonists; but it proves that the axe, the plow, and the fieldpiece did not drive out the legal and governmental machinery of expression.

Amid such conditions of colonization and administration, it is clear that Bacon was right, and that "the marshallings of affairs come best from those that are learned." The beginnings of freedom were contemporaneous with the preliminary plans of such men as George Calvert, who received his B.A. from Trinity College, Oxford, in 1597 and his M.A. in 1605 and had begun early to ponder on the possibilities of more scope for ideals overseas. Bradford, Hooker, and the long line culminating in William Penn of Christ Church thought out their problems with the aid of new religious inspiration and old classical authorities. Such men are not to be compared with the seekers for gold or land who later filtered across the plains on a purely economic urge where soon the transcontinental expresses were to thunder.

Conceptions of Colonial statecraft amid the same surroundings of education and legal training are most significant in the thoughts and rulings of John Winthrop,<sup>11</sup> the leader of Massachusetts Bay. There is here also a continuous rehashing of ancient ideas as applied to contemporary problems. This graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge, was applied to in 1638 by "divers gentlemen and others who, being joined in a military company, desired to be made a corporation. But the council, considering (from the example of the Pretorian Band among the Romans and the Templars in Europe) how dangerous it might be to erect a standing authority of military men, which might easily, in time, overthrow the civil power, thought fit to stop it betimes. Yet they were allowed to be a company, but subordinate to all authority." Such serious searchings of antiquity in connection with the found-

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Winthrop's *Journal*, ed. J. K. Hosmer, I, 260, 294; II, 5, 183, 186, 174, 202, etc.

ing of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company show how tightly precedents bound these serious-minded Puritans.

As in early Virginia, legal phrases abound in the journal of Winthrop: *vacuum domicilium, salvo iure, salus populi suprema lex, prima and proxima intentio, absolute and sub modo* denials, and longer sentences such as, *Nemo potest plus iuris in alios transferre quam in se habet*. Governor Dudley's letter to the Dutch governor Kieft (Kyfte) regarding the English-Dutch controversy on Long Island is in Latin; so is the agreement between the Bay colonists and the Frenchman D'Aulnay. And when a Royalist ship from Bristol, challenged by the Puritans, compounded with them to keep the peace, the captain produced his commission from the Earl of Warwick, Lord High Admiral of England, written in Latin: "*In registro Admiralitatis . . . Stagg capitaneus obligavit se in bis mille libris . . . in cuius rei testimonium sigillum Admiralitatis,*" etc.

Even when this régime of Winthrop and Endicott was resisted by the anti-theocratic group, the resistance to the Hebrew-classical combination took a classical form. Morton of Merrymount,<sup>12</sup> for example, brought into an otherwise staid community a sort of Horatian Hollywood. The carols which are reported to have been sung round his Maypole were imitated from the Horatian wine-woman-song motifs; and Morton, being an educated Epicurean, staged his rebellion along Petronian lines. One suspects that the villainy of Morton has been much overemphasized, and that his condemnation by the men of Boston and Salem was due to his rejection of the theocratic viewpoint. Morton's break was a matter of petulant rebellion, but there soon came protests against the high-handed government. John Wise,<sup>13</sup> of Ipswich, a challenger and opponent of Cotton Mather, had been pondering to good purpose the *De Iure Gentium et Naturae* of Pufendorf. Wise worked out a theory of civil liberty independent of the church hierarchy. He was, says Parrington, "the first New England minister to break with literal Hebraism"; he was "willing to make use of profane philosophies." In this respect he did just

<sup>12</sup> Cf. E. D. and F. Snyder, *A Book of American Literature* 26 f.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. V. L. Parrington, *The Colonial Mind* I, 118 f.

what Jefferson did later; he stated his case by an appeal to ancient classical authorities.

Winthrop, then, had laid the foundations along concentrated and theocratic lines; Wise reduced, or rather expanded, the problem into the universal. Even the former anticipated Wise in saying: "The being of a thing (*talis*) lies in the perfection of parts, not degrees . . . a ship of 40 tons may be as well compact a vessel as the Royal Sovereign."<sup>14</sup> The United Colonies claimed "a self-sufficiency, *quoad subjectam materiam*, and ergo should not need the help of any superior power . . . to complete our government." Also, with reference to the models of ancient colonies previously mentioned, Winthrop stated: "Among the Romans, Grecians, and other nations, colonies have been esteemed other than towns, yea, than many cities; for they have been the foundations of great commonwealths." But there was still no idea of an absolute split; for in 1646 New England's governor could still say, "May we rejoice and bless God under your shadow, and be there still nourished, — *tanquam calore et rore caelesti!*"

New England thus struggles slowly for the course of a century away from hierarchy into political independence; it is not long before the Revolution that we find Jonathan Mayhew going to Plato, Demosthenes, and Cicero as well as to Sidney, Milton, and Locke for his ideas of complete freedom in church and state.<sup>15</sup> The Utopia thought was ever in the foreground, and Plato's *Republic* served as the text when Bradford's early Pilgrims failed to work out their plan of community duties: "The vanitie of that conceit of Plato's and other ancients . . . that the taking away of propertie and bringing in communitie into a common wealth, would make them happy and flourishing."<sup>16</sup> If one searches the works of Mather, Winthrop, Sewall, Williams, Wise, Ward, one concludes that here we have a keen group of pam-

<sup>14</sup> Winthrop's *Journal* II, 299, 304, 312.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. M. C. Tyler, *Literature of The American Revolution* I, 132; cf. also F. F. Abbott, *op. cit.* 54, 58, 72, for the influence of Cicero and Seneca on political liberalism.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Snyder, *op. cit.* 13 f.

phleteers or special pleaders, whose occasional productions sometimes take the form of great pronouncements and epoch-making manifestos of hierarchy or freedom. In any event, while many of them obeyed a Hebraistic code, they flew for recourse whenever the law seemed insoluble to the clarifying influences of Athens and Rome.

The beginnings of our republic, as seen in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, with all the debate leading up thereto and following it in the form of party controversy, may be traced from these early protests against the encroachment of the mother country. One must honestly ascribe much of the classical background to material in Locke, Harrington, and the English theorists, upon whom much reliance was placed in the founding and interpretation of colonies and their principles. One must also reckon with the filtering in of Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu. And we should reckon, too, with the French Revolution in its preliminary phases. But when one has considered all these contributory sources, there remains the tradition of Aristotle, Cicero, Ulpian, and the material of ancient law, philosophy, and history. James Otis<sup>17</sup> had said: "The supreme power in a state is *ius dicere* (interpreting the law) only; *ius dare* (laying down the law) strictly speaking, belongs only to God." Also, from the fiery pen of Otis came the parallel thought: "The natural liberty of man is to be free from any superior power on earth, and not to be under the will or legislative authority of man, but only to have the Law of Nature for his rule."

This idea of "the law of Nature and the grant of God Almighty" harks back to Cicero, Seneca, Ulpian, and the Stoics. The humane rationalism of the eighteenth century harmonized with this concept and was ripe for its expression in action. There was the need for change from the old order; along with "cultural" maturity there was the initiative of a dominant group with a new instrument of progress.<sup>18</sup> Certain passages from Roman law circulated freely on the lips of leaders at this time —

<sup>17</sup> Cf. J. Otis, *Rights of the Colonies*: Boston (1764); and S. E. Morison, *Sources and Documents*, etc., 7.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. A. J. Todd, *Theories of Social Progress* 388.



such as Ulpian's *quod ad ius naturale pertinet, omnes homines aequales sunt*.<sup>19</sup> The phrase "law of nature" was used so much and idealized to such an extent, even by the hard-headed John Adams, that when John Dickinson attacked the problem in his *Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer*, he based his arguments for justice from England upon legal common sense rather than upon "natural right."<sup>20</sup> The fathers of the republic knew Justinian's statement that all men are born free *iure naturali*<sup>21</sup>; and as far back as Tudor England the idea had been expressed thus: "Nature originally intended all men free; but afterwards the Law of Nations put certain of them under the yoke of slavery." Stoic philosophy was full of references to the Natural Law, and even Thomas Aquinas speaks of "man's inclination to the Good, according to the rational nature which is proper to him."

When the storm broke, it was due to the deep belief in a current philosophy of freedom as well as to a political situation. The colonists were shrewd enough to understand that references to Parliament would simply bring about a legal dispute. They went back to these simple principles in petitioning the King of England for redress.<sup>22</sup> Jonathan Mayhew, in 1766, had stated the case clearly enough: "Having been initiated, in youth, into the doctrines of civil liberty as they were taught by such men as Plato, Demosthenes, and Cicero among the ancients, and such as Sidney, Milton, Locke, and Hoadley among the moderns, — I liked them; they seemed rational." The Sons of Liberty did not go about the streets quoting the classics; but their leaders gave them slogans and platforms which harked back to the ancient masters. The Greeks and Romans therefore had expressed in definitive form many of the ideas which appealed to the populace and even to the mob. The process ran on into the nineteenth century: Dew endeavored conversely to prove the righteousness of slavery by the same test. Savigny, whose *History of Roman Law in the Middle*

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Digest* 50, 17, 32; A. F. Pollard, *Factors in American History* 20.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. P. L. Ford, *The Political Writings of John Dickinson*; John Adams, *Works*, ed. by C. F. Adams, II, 370.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Justinian, *Institutes* I, 5, *De Libertinis: Cum iure naturali omnes liberi nascerentur*.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Carl Becker, *The Declaration of Independence* 75, 247, 263, 25.

*Ages* appeared in 1815, pushed the doctrine of Natural Rights until it became the doctrine of Historical Rights. And as late as 1820 Horace Binney,<sup>23</sup> in speaking against a protective tariff, maintained that legislation on this subject should be left to the "law of man's nature," which he felt to be more vital than any political regulation.

The sources of the Declaration can never be accurately summarized.<sup>24</sup> And why should they be hashed over in detail? Jefferson, when taxed with copying much of the document from Locke, remarked: "I know only that I turned to neither book nor pamphlet while writing it." The driving force was a simple one, backed by a few general principles. Jefferson also declared in 1825, "all its authority rests on the harmonizing sentiments of the day, whether expressed in conversation, in letters, printed essays, or the elementary books of public right, as Aristotle, Cicero, Locke, Sidney, and others." The will of Josiah Quincy (1774) reads to similar effect: "I give to my son, when he shall arrive at the age of fifteen years, Algernon Sidney's works, John Locke's works, Lord Bacon's works, Gordon's *Tacitus*, and Cato's *Letters*. May the spirit of liberty rest upon him!"

Ancient sources were therefore living material to these men.<sup>25</sup> When the Constitutional conventions began, with Jefferson as protagonist of the Franco-classical school and Adams of the Anglo-Saxon-classical school, all the matter of ancient history was discussed and sifted with meticulous care. Adams called into service all the authors to whom we have already referred, with Livy added. Jefferson made unlimited comparisons. He had studied the age of the Antonines to see how it compared with the

<sup>23</sup> Cf. C. C. Binney, *Life of Horace Binney* 88.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. S. E. Morison, *Oxford History of the U. S. I*, 122: "The Virginians cut their teeth on Harington, grew up with Cicero's *De Re Publica*, and transferred their loyalty from George III to an abstract conception of pure Republicanism on the early Roman model." [Mr. Ellis asks how it was possible that the Virginians "grew up with Cicero's *De Re Publica*," which was unknown to the modern world till 1822, when Cardinal Mai discovered the only extant MS. — Editor.]

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Parrington, *op. cit.* I, 213; II, 28; T. Jefferson, *Works*, ed. by P. L. Ford, ten vols., *passim*; J. Adams, *op. cit.*, *passim*; W. P. Trent, *History of American Literature* 132.

colonial life of his own day; he criticized the Roman claim to national happiness, on the ground that "no government can continue good but under the control of the people"; he feels that even a Brutus could not lead an unenlightened people to freedom. Like many persons who ride a hobby hard, Jefferson met with contemporary and subsequent criticism on this account: "He skirmished very smartly on the frontiers of several of the sciences, and made such a gallant inroad into the dead languages as to bring off captive a host of Greek nouns and Latin verbs . . . which he constantly paraded in conversation and writing."<sup>26</sup> He was handicapped by the juxtaposition of the French national problem and for this reason is wrongly defined as a backer of the principles of French Romantic philosophy. Even if he was, the theories of Rousseau and Condorcet are Franco-Latin and as such are in sympathy with the revival of certain ancient ideas, in a new dress and with Mother Nature smilingly patronizing their birth and upbringing. These men were, for the time being, old Romans: Hamilton wrote for Fenno's *Gazette* under the name "Pacificus"; Fisher Ames signed himself "Lucius Junius Brutus"; Arthur Lee masqueraded as "Junius Americanus"; John Dickinson was known in Europe as the American Cicero. Technicians in Latinity were therefore using this tradition as a mold for the greatest modern political experiment known.

Section 47 of the 1776 Pennsylvania State Constitution set up two persons in each city and county of the state, to be called the Council of Censors. Jefferson in his "Notes on Virginia" argued from Justinian in behalf of stopping the slave trade; while conversely, in the debates on the Constitution, Pinckney justifies slavery by the example of Greece and Rome. James Madison reviewed the Amphictyonic and Achaean confederacies for precedent in federalizing states. The two kings of Sparta and the two consuls of Rome were instanced in comparison with forecasted duties of the president and vice-president of the United States.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Washington Irving in A. B. Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, III, 360; G. Chinard, *Thomas Jefferson, the Apostle of Americanism*, Boston, 1929, pp. vii, 26, 32 f.; C. E. Merriam, *History of American Political Theories*, *passim*.

And in urging that the president be not elected for life, Jefferson called to memory the evil effects of the Roman emperors. The example of the tribunes was dragged in during consideration of senate membership. It was felt that as the tribunes lost their influence when their numbers grew, so too large a senate would be unwieldy. Similarly with the Roman triumvirate and the importance of dividing legislative authority.<sup>27</sup>

Rome thus underlies all their deliberations. And it is perfectly clear that comparisons of Republican Rome with modern America, as in the case of Signor Ferrero's frequent parallels, are not out of order. The Americans of the final Colonial period were pioneers in the practical application of the political pamphlet on a large scale<sup>28</sup>; they were lovers of political oratory to a degree only equalled by the pre-Augustan Romans. In fact, the prevalence of such a habit, with the continuance thereof after the passing of the crisis and the setting up of the new Republic, prompted Emerson to say, in his *American Scholar* address several decades later: "Meek young men grow up in libraries, believing it their duty to accept the views which Cicero, which Locke, which Bacon, have given; forgetful that Cicero, Locke, and Bacon were only young men in libraries when they wrote these books." But it is a world of mutation; and we are in greater danger of doing injustice to these innovators of our eighteenth century search for independence if we do not seek to know how skillfully and profoundly they combined the old with the new and built a nation from the union of the two.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Cf. S. E. Morison, *Sources and Documents*, etc. 175, 246, 254, 256, 284; Jefferson, *Correspondence*, ed. by T. J. Randolph (1829), I, 26, 30, 64, etc.; J. H. Latané, *American Foreign Policy* 88.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Tyler, *op. cit.* I, 7 f.; H. M. Jones, *America and French Culture* 41.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. P. A. Bruce, *The Virginia Plutarch* II, 31 f., states that all of Jefferson's cabinet of 1801 had received a classical education and at the same time were excellent up-to-date scientists — Madison, Gallatin, Lincoln, Dearborn, R. Smith, and Granger.

## THE LATIN SITUATION AND SOME MEDIAEVAL ANALOGIES<sup>1</sup>

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At the present time, when the entire field of education is being overhauled and re-evaluated; when, in particular, the study of Latin is at the bar, it may be useful to ask whether the same or a similar situation has not arisen before and whether we cannot extract something useful from an investigation of this kind; and also to make a brief survey of the more notable champions and defenders during those periodical waves of intellectual depression that swept over the middle centuries.

No man would dare attack the validity of, let us say, stratospheric experiments if he is confessedly not qualified to do so. Yet this hesitation is not as common as it might be. Every Tom and Dick spring up blithely to attack Latin. It has become a kind of *corpus vile* for every mouthing zany. The comedy of it is that most of such pseudocritics are ill equipped to make a judgment. They have run through the elements of Latin and audaciously imply that they have mastered Latin. Or they have encountered such difficulties with it that they feel that their very difficulties ought to give them a peculiar prerogative to attack Latin. And their *obiter dictum* is that Latin has been found wanting.

If it were merely a question of *de gustibus*, we could leave each critic to his own taste like the guests at Trimalchio's banquet. But the illogical situation is that each taster tries to impose his own reactions upon those who have not yet tasted. Everyone who has a pen scribbles the condemnation of the opposing subject. His own specialty assumes a sacred character, and everything else is

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Annual Convention of the New Hampshire State Classical Association, Manchester, October 21, 1932.



secondary. It is a case of racial or national prejudices transferred to education.

It is as if one were to condemn, on mere general principles, all red-headed men, and to conspire with one's neighbors to a like condemnation. One could casually allude to the weaknesses of red-headed men, and then one could plan to intersperse the daily talk with allusions to these weaknesses. It would not be more illogical than the procedure of those Grub Street critics. Of course we know that psychologically such remarks would, in due course, be accepted at their face value.

You can quite readily imagine enlisting the services of a propagandist like Chesterton. He would, with pen and tongue, by sheer weight of distorted argumentation, make short shrift of red-headed people. They would hide in shame and mumble inane apologies for their existence and group themselves together to protect their meager interests.

And yet that is virtually the Latin situation. Every man who has access to a column in a periodical can have a fling at Latin and pass it off with a feeble quip. Every one who could not get control of even the rudiments of the language becomes an authority. They do not know the universal humor of Plautus or the lyricism of Catullus or the eloquence of Cicero or the profundities of Vergil or the modernity of Seneca or the Neo-Platonism of Apuleius or the serried ranks of the mediaeval writers thundering through the centuries from Orosius until far down almost to our own times.

We have accustomed ourselves to meet external criticism by subterfuges, by appealing to by-products and such like maneuvers. And within our own camp we talk of upholding the cause. It is a fatal thing to use the term cause. It usually implies a lost cause. It suggests a small minority holding out at all costs. The real defense must be more robust. It must come from within. It really means this: That Latin was never at any time intended for indiscriminate consumption; it was always selective in its clientele, and its clientele has until recently been robust enough to carry the weight and to hand it on. Latin must go back to that status. It cannot make concessions to the market place.

The Middle Ages realized this fact. Books, written in Latin, prevented the masses from getting access to them. And that was not entirely an evil, because deliberately to open the gates to the masses would have meant at least confusion if not destruction. If you were stimulated to higher things, you would yourself emerge from the masses on your own impetus without extraneous assistance. That was the mediaeval code. And that was the intellectual salvation of Latin. Politically there may be criticism of this attitude, but intellectually it was a good thing. You will remember that books were heavily chained in those days, so that no surreptitious bibliomaniac had any chance of carrying home a volume to devour its contents. That was another good thing. The Middle Ages were not alert psychologically, but their ways sometimes coincided happily with psychological principles. They knew that as soon as you give everyone access to a thing, the thing itself loses its sacredness and often its value. It is the old principle of taboo. The witch doctor and the Brahmin priest make use of it. That is one more reason why Islam has such a hold on its followers.

Make a thing accessible, then, and it becomes the toy of every moron. And that is what has happened, in some degree, to Latin. Circumscribe it once more, as it is circumscribed in Britain and in France at the present day. Then only those who have capacity will attempt the language, and they will go forward to achievement. What happens at present is that so many hapless beings enter the contest that they fall by the way and clamor, not against their own feeble powers, as they ought to, but against the object that they set out to attain. There will be, under the new limitations, no *argumenta ad hominem*, no confessions of inability to go on, no pointing fingers of scorn because the objective is beyond reach.

The suggested solution is not, of course, new. The same trouble and the same symptoms were evident in the Middle Ages as soon as the invention of printing gained impetus. The clamor for new things *qua* new has always been a human failing from the time of *Genesis* onward. And the Middle Ages, jubilant at every

passing whim, intermittently drifted away from Latin and as often came back to it repentantly.

From the fifth century A.D. onward the Latin language itself suffered violent changes. Barbarisms seeped into it along with barbarians and almost transformed it. Sometimes, in fact, the language degenerated into almost meaningless jargon written by men who, as they themselves confess, had acquired the tongue with difficulty. The mystifying *Hisperica Famina* are a good illustration of such linguistic bewilderment. It would seem, however, that in such crises there inevitably appears, like the gaunt Hilarion in Aquileia when it was besieged by Attila, a warning figure, a viewer with alarm, a prophetic visitant, to bring redress or offer aid. Priscian of Caesarea in Spain was such an avenger in the sixth century, when he compiled his monumental *Institutio De Arte Grammatica*, that served as a model for correct Latinity until well into the eighteenth century. He stemmed the tide of corruption and gave a renewed and invigorated lease to humanism.

Somewhat later, in the eighth century, Alcuin, one of the brilliant figures at the court of Charlemagne, did a like service by stimulating exact Latinity at a time when men could write: *Audivi quendam nobilissimum Gallorum referentem quod aliquantae naves ab hac eadem Caribdi voratae sunt*. He organized and helped to multiply *scriptoria* that were kept busy transcribing manuscripts and launched a systematic textbook on rhetoric that came into universal use throughout Europe.

Each century had its own troubles, and each century had its savior. The following century sank deeply. Among the people signs of corruption were flagrant and need for intellectual guidance became imperative. Guidance was forthcoming, especially to the younger generation. A good instance is the *Colloquium*, commonly attributed to Bishop Aelfric. He proposes to set Latinity on its feet again and free it from encroachments of degeneration. The *discipuli* who are the *dramatis personae* make a plea for help that sounds the keynote of the *Colloquy*:

*Nos pueri rogamus te, magister, ut doceas nos loqui Latinaliter recte, quia idiotae sumus et corrupte loquimur.*

*Quid vultis loqui?* asks the magister.

*Quid curamus quid loquamur, nisi recta oratio sit, et utilis, non anilis aut turpis.*

The entire dialogue is a lesson not only in the language, but in *mores*. That was the chief value of Latin, as an instrument of practical ethics through language teaching, like the *Polycraticus* of John of Salisbury.

Sometimes, as happens even now, the teaching was ineffective, or a wave of aversion swept over people, and then things like Latin suffered. Giraldus Cambrensis, that thirteenth-century skeptic, has violent things to say about the illiteracy of his day, about the ignorance of clerics, the low spiritual level of his fellow-men. He comments with gusto on the Latin howlers they commit. A cleric, when asked to explain: *Dicite quia Dominus his opus habet*, said: *Dicite quia Dominus habet herbam illam quae vocatur his-opus*. Another cleric noticed in a manuscript *in die* at the end of one line and in the next line *bus illis* and thought that *busillis* was the name of a king or mythical hero. Somewhat later chronologically, but of the same tenor, is the report, in diary form, left by the Bishop of Rouen on his examination of clerics. One such candidate gave *ferturus* as the future participle of *fero*, and said that *dividere* was of the fourth conjugation because the dative ended in *o* and the genitive in *i*. The reply sounds almost contemporary; but such mistakes imply that Latin as a basic foundation was *in extremis*, gasping for life.

Roger Bacon, endowed with an alert, inquisitive mind, realized that the study of a language like Latin was a powerful deterrent against slipshod reasoning and the moral corruption that was rife: *Perit iustitia*, he laments, *pax omnis violatur, infinita scandala suscitantur; mores enim ibidem sequuntur perversissimi*. And in language teaching Bacon enunciated an ideal that transcends mere literal exactitude: *Oportet quod interpret optime sciat scientiam quam vult transferre, et duas linguas a quibus et in quas transferat.*

There was need for such advice, for in the thirteenth century Latin had again become almost barbarous and had to be redirected once more by Petrarch, the neo-Ciceronian. To him Latin was a mode of life, and he lived it intensely and made it what it is still called in some European universities — a humanity, not a philological dissection. It is salutary to recall this distinction, for one of the reasons for the present status of Latin is that to a large extent the introductory study of the language has been divorced from its humanism.

Petrarch traveled extensively, searching for manuscripts in monasteries and forgotten *scriptoria*, reading voraciously, writing letters, speeches, poems. He hailed the discovery of Cicero's *Letters* by addressing a letter to Cicero himself: *O Romani eloquii summe parens, nec solus ego, sed omnes tibi gratias agimus*. He was a polymath, this Petrarch, interested in all human activities, so that the stimulus he gave to Latin must not be considered as an *ex parte* defense but rather as the consummation of the ideal man, certainly of those days.

Petrarch's influence spread widely, overflowing into later centuries. In the fifteenth, Valla, courtier of Alfonso of Naples, promoted interest in the humanities with his *On the Elegancies of the Latin Language*, written — although more stylistically — in the tradition of Priscian.

All such stimuli were of value during the periodic intellectual depressions that overtook the middle centuries. And the men who tried to counteract these depressive onsets did good service, each in his own way, to buttress the intellectual life.

One of the most notable of these, although he was rather unusual in his whimsical outlook, was Erasmus of Rotterdam. Stripped of certain local incumbrances, he is a modern of the moderns, endowed with a vivid sense of humor, and capable of seeing things and seeing them whole. He noted, as we ourselves do, the constant contempt for things spiritual and intellectual, and his pen bit into sharp, Seneca-like epigrams that are palpably true today. There is the man who despises intellectual activity; there is the man who chooses gold as the greatest riches. . . . *Hic*



*somno et otio nihil putat felicius . . . sunt qui alienis obeundis negotiis sedulo tumultuantur, sua negligunt. . . .* And for those ex cathedra psychologists who try to evaluate Latin in utilitarian terms, like a bill of lading, nothing is more appropriate than Erasmus' flaming words: *Ad eos accingar qui sapientiae speciem inter mortales tenent, et aureum illum ramum, ut aiunt, aucupantur, inter quos grammatici primas tenent.* On the other hand, literature divorced from life is a barren and meaningless thing. That is why we talk of "life and letters" in the fourth century; that is why Anatole France sums up his life in *la vie littéraire*. You must beware of mere barrenness, like that prince of all the arts whom Erasmus mentions. He knew Greek and Latin, mathematics, philosophy, medicine; but when he was sixty he felt the futility of knowledge and devoted the last twenty years of life to real happiness, an investigation into the distinguishing features of the eight parts of speech.

To counterbalance this, when Erasmus went to England, he was happily surprised at the warmth and enthusiasm with which the classics were studied. "There is no need," he writes to his friend Robert Fisher, "to visit Italy now, so exact and deep is the study of the classics in this country. I almost feel that I am listening to Plato when I hear Colet":

*Tantum autem humanitatis atque eruditionis, non illius protritae ac trivialis, sed reconditae, exactae, antiquae, Latinae Graecaeque, ut iam Italiam nisi visendi gratia haud multum desiderem. Coletum meum cum audio, Platonem ipsum mihi videor audire.*

Of all those whose life meant the classics, in a very active sense, Muretus may serve as an outstanding claimant. He takes up the challenge in defense of pure literature as a way of life, to use the modern phrase. His *apologia* contains the essence of the encomium in the *Pro Archia*, but he is more expansive.

Marcus Antonius Muretus, of French origin, spanned most of the sixteenth century. Part of his work was done in France, while the latter part of his life was spent in various professorial capacities in Italy. He touched classical culture in most fields, as critic, editor, commentator, translator, and poet, and was the acknowl-

edged Latinist of his age. In an era that witnessed the bloody massacres bewailed by D'Aubigné, Muretus merits our attention. Whatever he has to say about the pursuit of literature springs from his own deep mastery, and in this respect, unlike many contemporary critics, he commands a hearing. In a time like the present when rumblings of war, dissension, and military preparations cloud the air, it is wholesome to have repeated such a view as this:

Since the happiness of a people, which is the aim of all humanity, depends on the happiness of each member and the happiness of each member depends primarily on the pursuit and exercise of virtue, and since literature offers a necessary preparation for attaining perfection of virtue, it consequently follows that no state can flourish wherein literature does not flourish. . . .

*Virtus* and *litterae* are here identified, as they often are in ancient literature. Literature is therefore not a detached academic study, but a mentor in right living. That is the view of Muretus as well. For he goes on: *Non tantum bene dicendi, verum etiam bene vivendi commonstrant vias*, which is tantamount to the old definition of the orator as a *vir bonus*.

Most frivolous critics ignore this point: that literature, which to a man like Muretus meant Latin literature, was more than a series of grammatical drills. If the final objectives are not always achieved, obviously it means that not all who undertake the study are qualified to do so, which brings us back to our original contention. A literature like Latin ought, Muretus continues, to stimulate men who can thus behold the trophies of antiquity everlastingly enshrined in writing.

There follow historical instances illustrating the hold that literature has on men: *O discendi cupiditas, quid non efficis, ubi semel generosa ingenia occupasti?* The restriction, of course, is that the *ingenium* must be naturally *generosum*, and that it must be affected by this *discendi cupiditas*. And the *generosum ingenium*, like the poet, *nascitur*. That is the old idea of a natural cleavage—the two types of man: the inherently inferior, who will remain the slave; and the inherently superior, who will rise to mastery.

Muretus had to encounter detractors, prototypes of our contemporaries. "What importance," ask these Philistines, "can you attach to telling boys such fictions about the Theban War, and the Trojan War, and the wanderings of Ulysses and Aeneas?" The answer is that the poet teaches just as well as the philosopher. Poetry is a kind of honey-coated philosophy, as St. Augustine had already seen.

And finally, in one of his public speeches in Rome, Muretus once for all silences the calumnies of the unthinking criticism of all Philistines, both of his age and of our own. Latin and Greek constitute a body of literature that excels the efforts of all other nations. Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Cicero, Vergil, Seneca, Livy, Pliny, and Tacitus — this is the order in which Muretus cites them — these alone are sufficient justification for learning these languages. Furthermore, the Latin and the Greek languages have gained universal recognition and a knowledge of them, and particularly a knowledge of spoken Latin, are a passport to real culture.

"Latin and Greek are dead!" cry the Philistines — *Aiunt Graecam Latinamque linguam iam pridem mortuas esse*. On the contrary, they have been molded into perfection and remain so; only those languages die that depend on the illiterate masses for their existence.

"Away with language study! Let us have more science!" clamor the Philistines. . . . *At quod temporis in linguis discendis consumitur, melius rebus ipsis cognoscendis impenderetur*. "But there is really," argues Muretus, "no actual cleavage between these two types of knowledge":

*Nunc ita nobis a Deo consultum ac prospectum est, ut qui Graece Latineque politissime scripserunt, iidem etiam sapientissime scripserint; ut non ab aliis verba, ab aliis rerum cognitionem petere oporteat, sed utraque ex iisdem fontibus eodem tempore haurire liceat.*

But the Philistines clamor once again: "Are there not sufficient translations from the Greek and Latin to make the study of these languages unnecessary?" Muretus answers them: "Are we always to rely on interpreters? And how far can we rely on them?"

So the question and rebuttal go on, and we feel that for the moment we have left Muretus far behind and are dealing with quite recent critics.

History, in spite of what they say, does not, of course, repeat itself. But there are, as we have seen, analogies, essential features in common between the Middle Ages and our own times that give us a basis for comparison. There were plague and depression, economic instability, and political and intellectual restlessness and questioning; and throughout it all Latin, both as a language and as an essential factor of human culture, came sailing through.

The remarkable fact stands out that, despite all these ups and downs, notwithstanding barbaric inroads, Latin maintained its own ground. The reason is manifestly that Latin is more than a language; it is more than Hittite, that rose and fell; or even Sanskrit, which I have heard Buddhist priests in India chanting uncomprehendingly. Latin connoted a culture, an entire civilization, and an attitude to life. Latin was like some of those organisms that even when dissected maintain a quivering life. Latin has innate powers of recuperation. The number of real Latin magazines, both in the United States and in Europe, the addresses still made in Latin, the public lectures in the colleges in Rome, the International Conference scheduled for 1933, that will take the form of contests in Latin oratory and conversation — activities such as these are abundant indication of the vitality of the language. That is why the time element is of such little consequence; that is why those who can relish the good things can bridge centuries and find their kin in the middle centuries and go still further to the very fountain head amid the Peace of the Augustans.

## BEGINNINGS AND ENDINGS

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When the excitement and exhilaration of the opening weeks of the school term have passed, when the first flush of eager interest has given way in all too many first-year Latin pupils to an attitude of hurt boredom towards the learning of paradigms, when the grading of papers and notebooks begins to weigh more and more heavily, then Latin teachers find themselves gazing pensively at photographs of far-away places and longing to "go on pilgrimages." In some cases the result is the immediate booking of steamship passage for the coming summer. If circumstances forbid that particular way out, there is always the imaginary pilgrimage, made with the aid of books and pictures and memories of real trips in the past. One may visit all the great centers of Roman civilization in Britain or the cities of Roman Africa or even the towns along the Appian Way. I have gone on a great many of these momentous journeys myself — most recently, on one which I have called "Beginnings and Endings." Perhaps some account of at least part of that trip at this particular time of year might be suggestive of one way to indulge the wanderlust and to relieve "classroom nerves."

The early Roman emperors from Augustus to Commodus inclusive are, naturally, figures of tremendous interest and importance. Many of them rose from comparatively humble beginnings to the heights of the principate; many of them sank from that lofty estate to an ignominious death. Accordingly, a journey to the birthplaces, places of death, and tombs of these seventeen molders of the destiny of imperial Rome might be an interesting one to choose for an imaginary pilgrimage. It should not be difficult to plan our itinerary; and the trip should profit us, if in



nothing else, at least in a better acquaintance with the lives of the great men themselves.

Let us assume, then, that our journey is to take us first of all to the birthplaces of the Roman emperors. Coming from America as we do, we shall probably visit the sites not chronologically with reference to the emperors concerned but rather in geographical order. Accordingly, some eight or ten days after we have sailed from New York harbor, our steamer will tie up at the quay of the old city of Cadiz, Spain; and we, making our way through the throngs of vendors of postcards and water jars, Spanish wine, and grapes, shall enter the railroad station on the wharf and take the small Andalusian train to Seville.

As we rattle along from Cadiz, we shall pass ox teams, old olive groves, threshing floors, daub-and-wattle huts, *villae rusticae* after the ancient pattern — at times we shall be a little uncertain as to whether it is all really Spain or the ancient Roman Empire come to life again! We shall not feel sure that we are not dreaming until the end of our journey brings us to Seville.

In that city itself we shall not linger, in spite of the charm of mantilla and fan and balcony, in spite of the picturesqueness of narrow streets, of the magnificent Moorish palace, of the Giralda tower, of the cathedral. We shall proceed at once by bus in the direction of Italica, the abandoned town about four and a half miles northwest of Seville, founded by Scipio Africanus for his veterans, and later raised to the dignity of an independent *municipium*, one of the most important in the province of Hispania Baetica. Our bus will stop not at Italica proper but at the little village of Santiponce; we shall be glad, however, to walk the pleasant quarter of a mile to the ruins.

Here in Italica, on Sept. 18, A.D. 53, was born M. Ulpius Traianus, later the Emperor Trajan (Eutropius VIII, 2; cf. Dio Cass. LVIII, 4); and probably in the same city, on Jan. 24, A.D. 76, his successor, Hadrian, first saw the light of day (Eutr. VIII, 6).<sup>1</sup> We shall search in vain among the ruins of Italica for the exact sites of the houses in which the emperors were born, but we

<sup>1</sup> The later Emperor Theodosius also was probably born in Italica; cf. Le Nain de Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*: Brussels, 1693-1739, V, 1.

shall see a great amphitheater, about 285 feet long and 200 feet wide; also, the foundations of several dwellings and temples, and the reservoir of an aqueduct. As in the case of so many Roman sites all over Europe, we shall regret the fact that after the fall of Rome these fine structures were plundered for stones to serve in the building of near-by cities. However, we can still reconstruct the amphitheater mentally from the few seats, the few substructures, and the few passageways that remain; and if we mount to the highest point of the ancient city, we can get a fine view of plain, distant towns, and mountains, which cannot be so vastly different from that which met the eye of the citizen of ancient Italica.

Reluctantly, as the sun moves across the sky, we climb down from our point of vantage and tramp back to Santiponce. There is a bus ride to Seville before us and a rather dusty train trip; but in due time we shall have passed the olive groves, the cork forests, and the salt works and shall have arrived in Cadiz. Here the modern city, the wharf, and our ship awaiting us, all bring us back to the twentieth century once more. We cast off from the quay, steam away from Spain, pass between the massive Pillars of Heracles into the Mediterranean, and set our faces towards the northeast — towards ancient Gaul.

After a few days of smooth sailing through intensely blue waters and under skies hardly less blue, we tie up again at a quay, this time in the busy modern city of Marseilles. We go ashore and see long lines of berthed steamers from all over the world and, brooding over them, the miracle-church of the sailors, Notre Dame de la Garde. A noisy taxicab takes us through drab streets, past the old harbor of the Greeks, and up through bustling avenues to the railroad station. Here we entrain for Lyons, ancient Lugdunum, the birthplace, on Aug. 1, 10 B.C., of the future Emperor Claudius (Suet., *Claud.* II). The road leads us over two hundred miles north and west through the sweetly beautiful valley of the Rhône to the confluence of that river and the Saône.

Arrived in Lyons, we hurriedly turn our backs on the busy new quarters and seek out Lugdunum proper, the ancient hill of the Celtic god Lug. We shall find it near the modern district of

Fourvières, the Roman Forum Vetus, on the steep right bank of the Saône. In 43 B.C. Munatius Plancus, the consul, by decree of the senate superintended the building in Forum Vetus of important structures which should help make the provincial town one of the outstanding settlements of Gaul. Here Augustus erected a theater and other buildings and made it the capital, so to speak, of the whole region around about. Later Lugdunum and Forum Vetus were united and as one city achieved enviable prestige and prosperity. Here stood the famous temple and altar of Rome and Augustus, the center of emperor worship in Gaul, to which all the provinces of that land sent representatives for the yearly games. The city was at the hub of the Gallic roads and stood in a commanding position on the two rivers. It had a mint of its own. Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius gave it magnificent buildings.

Unfortunately for us, the modern city has so engulfed the ancient, that little remains to give us an idea of the Roman site. Traces of three Roman aqueducts, one not far from the church of Notre Dame de Fourvières, a few tombs of the first century after Christ, some ruins of baths and of the theater, and, down along the Rhône, the masonry of an underground water channel — these, with the view of mountains and river, must serve to bridge for us the gap between present and past.

We descend by funicular from the heights of Lugdunum and take the train back to Marseilles. Since ours is to be an imaginary journey, we shall find it an easy matter to proceed by the most pleasant route possible; accordingly, we shall escape the weariness of a longer journey by rail and, instead, shall board our ship once more. Rapidly we sail south along the west coast of Italy; and after a day and a night we anchor just outside the port of Civita Vecchia, the Roman Centum Cellae, founded by Trajan. Here we leave the ship and go ashore in small boats to the modern harbor, the masonry of which rests on the ancient stones of Trajan's port. In the shadow of the mediaeval buildings along the water front we climb into omnibuses and set out on the two-hour journey along the Via Aurelia to Rome.

The drive is a pleasant one in the coolness of early morning.

We pass huts that look like the burial urns of the museums, road stations that recall the ancient halting places of the imperial couriers, milestones that take us back two thousand years at a glance. We hasten by famous ravines and streams and through towns of remote antiquity; and at last, in the distance beyond the umbrella pines to our left, we see the dome of St. Peter's and know that our journey is almost over. Not many minutes later we begin to see trams and paved streets and soon come upon the mediaeval buildings of the Vatican City. We skirt the noble colonnade of St. Peter's, leave the Vatican City again for Rome proper, and make our way to our hotel.

On the morrow we shall begin our visits to imperial birthplaces in Rome with a journey to that of Augustus. Young C. Octavius, Suetonius tells us (*Aug.* v), was born Sept. 23, 63 B.C., a little before daybreak, in a place on the Palatine Hill known as *Ad Capita Bubula*, "At the Ox-heads." Accordingly, we shall enter the Forum at the only gate now available — that by the Arch of Titus — and climb up the pleasant tree-clad slope to the summit of the earliest hill of Rome. We shall pause for a moment to gaze down on the Forum, drowsing below us, and then seek out the approximate site of the house. Unfortunately we shall not find, as did Suetonius, a chapel of the deified Augustus marking the spot. However, Servius (*ad Aen.* viii, 361) gives us the further information that Augustus was born *in curiis veteribus*. Accordingly, the district is conjectured to be the northeast corner of the Palatine near the Caelian.<sup>2</sup> The odd name, "At the Ox-heads," may refer to some sculptured decoration in the neighborhood.

The young Octavius seems to have been taken early in life to a small house near Velletri, where he grew up. This house seems to have been honored as much in antiquity, at least by those who lived near by, as the Palatine site.

The place of the birth of Tiberius on Nov. 16, 42 B.C., is given by Suetonius (*Tib.* v) as either the town of Fundi or the Palatine; and Suetonius himself indorses the Palatine theory. The

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Samuel B. Platner and Thomas Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*: Oxford University Press (1929), s. v. *Capita Bubula* and *Curiae Veteres*.

particular spot on the Palatine, and even the quarter of the hill, in which his parents lived, is uncertain. We wander over the summit, passing the remains of great imperial buildings and temples and listening to the drone of the insects in the grass and trees. Then, descending from the Palatine, we leave the Forum as we entered it, past the Arch of Titus and the Temple of Venus and Rome, and emerge close to the Colosseum.

We now find ourselves on the wide Via di San Gregorio near the Arch of Constantine. We follow it past the Botanical Garden and then strike off to our left by the Via di Santi Giovanni e Paolo up the slope of the Caelian. In an estate somewhere on this hill M. Annius Verus, destined to become the Emperor M. Aurelius, was born in the month of April, A.D. 121, of parents of Spanish origin (*Script. Hist. Aug., Marc. Aur.* i, 5). The Caelian Hill, after the fire of A.D. 27, seems to have abounded in villas, temples, and barracks. As we ascend the hill today we pass churches, the arch of an ancient aqueduct, and the closed gates of private homes and villas. If we could gain access to the Villa Mattei, we might enjoy a superbly beautiful view; however, we shall probably have to be content with observing the general topography of the hill and restoring it in our imagination to its appearance in antiquity. The street which we are following bends into the Via di Santo Stefano Rotondo; and this finally takes us down to the piazza of San Giovanni in Laterano.

By tram we journey next through the busy modern city to the Quirinal Hill, to a point near the junction of the Via XX Settembre and the Via delle Quattro Fontane. Somewhere in this vicinity stood the house of Vespasian, the birthplace on Oct. 24, A.D. 51, of the Emperor Domitian (*Suet., Dom.* v). It was on this spot that Domitian during his principate constructed a sumptuous tomb for all the Flavians — a structure of which no sure remains are known.

Our search for the birthplace of Domitian's brother Titus will be less successful. We know that he was born Dec. 30 in the year A.D. 40 or 41, *prope Septizonium sordidis aedibus* (*Suet., Tit.* ii; but even the Septizonium mentioned in this connection is



a puzzle. A later building of the same name, erected by Septimius Severus upon the Palatine, has been variously interpreted as an ornamental façade and as a nymphaeum. We do not know what or where the earlier Septizonium was, and there is no sure evidence at all as yet as to the birthplace of Titus.<sup>3</sup>

This completes the list, so far as we know, of those of the first seventeen emperors who were born in the city proper. The birthplaces of Otho and Vitellius are uncertain; and for the origin of the rest of the seventeen we must visit towns lying at greater or lesser distances from the city Rome.

Our first visit shall be to Lanuvium, the modern Lanuvio or Civita Lavinia, which lies about nineteen miles southeast of Rome, just off the Via Appia. We shall take the Roma-Albano-Genzano-Velletri interurban car at an early hour and shall ride rapidly out alongside the aqueducts and pines of the Via Appia Nuova. Soon we shall see the Alban Mount and the Volscian hills; and not long afterwards, alighting at the station Bivio-Lanuvio, we shall walk to the old town of Lanuvium over the great paving-blocks of the Via Appia. On the way we shall see milestones, numerous inscriptions, and a Roman bridge. We shall obtain a fine view of Velletri (the home of Augustus' childhood), the Pontine Marshes, and Terracina in the distance, and shall finally reach the lofty town of Lanuvium itself. Here we may see the remains of two *cellae* of a great temple of the Republican period and buildings apparently associated with that temple; the large substructures of a Roman theater; fragments of very old Cyclopean city walls; remains of many villas and tombs; in the Villa Sforza, extensive traces of walls, columns, and stairs; and, in the town square, an ancient sarcophagus used as a trough. We shall also admire the Renaissance walls and towers of the town and shall gaze with a smile at the twelfth-century hitching ring high up in a mediaeval wall — the famous "Ring of Aeneas," to which the inhabitants insist Aeneas tied his ship when he arrived in Italy! Lanuvium was famous for the ancient and sacred temple of Juno Sospita, with its grove, oracle,

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Platner-Ashby, *op. cit.*, s. v. *Septizonium*.



and fine paintings. The ruins of this temple have not yet been determined with certainty.

It was in a villa near this town that Antoninus Pius was born on Sept. 19, A.D. 86, into a family which had come originally from Nemausus (Script. Hist. Aug., *Ant. Pius* 1, 8); and in the same town Commodus and his twin brother Antoninus (the latter destined to die at the age of four) first saw the light of day on Aug. 31, A.D. 161 (Script. Hist. Aug., *Comm.* 1, 2). All of the Antonine emperors favored the town, and under their rule it prospered and acquired many fine buildings.

On another day we shall journey to Antium, possibly the birthplace, on Aug. 31, A.D. 12, of Caligula<sup>4</sup> and certainly of Nero, on Dec. 15, A.D. 37.<sup>5</sup> To reach Antium (modern Anzio) we shall take a train from the Termini station in Rome and proceed south for some thirty-three miles to the coast. Here on a promontory extending into the sea the Volscians first built the old city — the one, incidentally, in which Coriolanus met his death. The place was popular in late Republican and early Imperial times. Cicero had a villa here, as did the emperor Nero. Antoninus Pius gave it an aqueduct, and Septimius Severus enlarged and adorned existing buildings. Nero founded here a colony of veterans of the praetorian guard and also improved the harbor. In this town Augustus received the title *Pater Patriae*; and here Nero heard the news of the great fire at Rome. Here stood a famous temple of Fortune; and here in Anzio was discovered the statue known as the Apollo Belvedere.

If we go from the railroad station of Anzio directly to the harbor, we shall see, just west of the modern port, remains of the moles constructed by Nero and along the coast extensive ruins of villas. Of these latter perhaps some belong to the imperial villas or are on the site of the actual birthplace which we seek. Returning to the center of the modern city we go up the Via Pietro Aldobrandini to the old town, where we gaze at the ancient walls and the moat and marvel at the extensive and

<sup>4</sup> Suet., *Cal.* VIII, 1-3. Cf. however, Dio Cassius LIX, 6, 2, and Tac., *Ann.* 1, 41, who state that Caligula was born in camp.

<sup>5</sup> Suet., *Nero* VI, 9; Tac., *Ann.* xv, 23.

beautiful view. We can readily understand how the place appealed to the wealthy Roman of antiquity and how it appeals to the Italian of today. It is ideally situated for a seaside resort.

Tarracina (modern Terracina), near which the Emperor Galba was born on Dec. 24, 3 B.C. (Suet., *Galba* IV), is seventy-six miles by train from Rome. Our way leads us past Lanuvio, Velletri, Cori, mediaeval Ninfa, and the Pontine Marshes, to the gleaming white rock on which the Volscians built their city Anxur, forerunner of Tarracina. The town was an important station on the Via Appia in Roman times. It was noted as a commercial center, a military stronghold, a spa, a sea and mountain resort, and a favored residence seat of many wealthy Romans, including the Emperor Domitian.

As in the case of many Italian towns, the modern settlement of Terracina lies below the ancient one. Accordingly we ascend by the Via Garibaldi and come upon the ancient paving of the forum in the center of the old town. Here we shall find a cathedral built into and over an ancient temple of Rome and Augustus. We resume our arduous climb over ancient paving and past Roman tomb remains and walls partly of polygonal masonry, partly of *opus incertum*, to the great ruined temple on the very topmost point of the promontory. Whether the temple is that of Venus or of the famous Jupiter of Anxur, depicted in his cult statue as a beautiful youth, is not certain; but the ruins are most impressive, and the view they afford of plain and mountain, of the home of Circe, of islands, and of sea, is superb. Just to the east of the town we may look down upon the road to Fondi; it was probably in a villa somewhere on this road close to Tarracina proper that Galba was born. Inasmuch as some authorities give Fundi as the birthplace of Tiberius<sup>6</sup> and the native city of his mother's family, we may visit it, too, on this same expedition. Accordingly we descend from the citadel of Tarracina and seek out the bus for Formia, which goes through modern Fondi.

We find that we have time before the bus leaves to visit the ancient port of Tarracina. We shall find that it is an artificial

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Suet., *Tib.* v.

harbor, constructed first in antiquity and improved by the emperors Trajan and Antoninus Pius; and we shall be pleased at the extensiveness of the ancient remains around the sandy basin.

Returning to the town proper, we board our bus with a group of noisy, happy Italians, and set out along the Appian Way on our eleven-mile journey to ancient Fundi. We pass tomb remains and green hills, trudging peasants, and laden donkeys on the way and presently arrive at the famous old wine center on the Lacus Fundanus. We shall find the modern Fondi built directly over the site of its Roman predecessor and shall delight in the old wall and gate, the inscriptions, the paving stones, and the bits of ancient Roman buildings that meet our gaze at every turn. The Via Appia still runs through the town — in fact, forms the principal street of it. We wander about reveling in the picturesqueness of the place and seeming much farther from cosmopolitan Rome than the actual sixty-nine miles that separate the two towns.

Upon our return to Rome we direct our attention next to the north. Suetonius informs us (Suet., *Vesp.* 11) that in the evening of Nov. 17, A.D. 9, the Emperor Vespasian was born in the Sabine territory, near Reate, in a small village called Phalacrinae; that he favored the place, kept his estate there, and visited it frequently. Vespasian's father seems to have been a tax collector and money lender — a lowly parent, certainly, for a future emperor. The exact site of Phalacrinae is uncertain; but the presence in mediaeval times of a church called San Silvestro in Falacrina near the modern town of Antrodoco in the Sabine territory may locate it in general as some fifteen miles east of Reate (modern Rieti) and thus some sixty miles northeast of Rome. To visit it we journey by motorbus from Rome along the line of the old Via Salaria. We find Antrodoco remote, picturesque, beautifully situated among the Sabine hills. Although we cannot determine the imperial birthplace with any degree of certainty, we can drink in the lovely views that abound in the neighborhood and, perhaps, feel some sense of nearness to the ancient emperor from the very remoteness of the region.

To complete our self-appointed task there remains for us to visit one more site — Narnia in Umbria, the probable birthplace of the Emperor Nerva (Aur. Vict., *Epit.* xii, 1). From the Termini station in Rome we take the Florence-via-Orte train and set out on a sixty-two mile ride through the mountains and forests northeast of the capital to modern Narni. Umbrian Nequinum, later the site of the Roman colony of Narnia, lay on the Via Flaminia, just above the point where the Nar river flowed into the Tiber. It enjoyed a commanding position on a rocky height rising out of a rich, forest-girdled plain. Even from the train we see outstanding remains of Roman occupation of the place — the stupendous "Bridge of Augustus," constructed by that emperor to carry the Via Flaminia across the river just below the town. The bridge is of white marble; all of the piers and one mighty arch over sixty feet high are complete. We can readily understand the pride of the inhabitants of the town in the structure during the early Empire and their boast that it was the finest thing of its kind that the world had ever seen.

The lofty town with its quaint streets, its castle, cathedral, and town hall, will suggest the Middle Ages rather than antiquity. However, the outlook over the mountains and valleys, seemingly eternal, will, as in so many of the sites we have visited, be essentially the same as that which met the eye of the ancient Roman and will give us some feeling of fellowship with the emperor who spent his childhood here. If we enjoy walking, we may descend and tramp the four or five miles along the Nar to Nera Montoro; if we do so, we shall pass directly beneath the extant arch of the "Bridge of Augustus" and get an unparalleled view of that mighty ruin.

Our pilgrimage to the known birthplaces of the early Roman emperors is now over. We have explored towns which are bustling and modern, towns which still seem much as they were in the days of the Roman Empire, and the locations of towns which have practically disappeared. Our way has led us to Spain, France, and both north and central Italy; and it has led us to the sites of palaces and of hovels. We have seen the "beginnings" of the emperors; now what of their "endings"?

The scenes of the death and burial of these men are even more appealing to the student of things Roman than are their native cities, associated as they are with so much of history and so much of legend. It might be interesting for persons who have made this "beginnings" journey with us to plan for themselves their own trips to the "endings." Such trips will lead, for death scenes, from Vienna down through Brixellum (modern Brescello) in Cisalpine Gaul near Parma and through Lorium in Etruria to Rome and points just outside it; and will then go out to Sabine Reate, down to beautiful Baiae, Misenum, and Nola, and finally as far afield as Selinus, or Trajanopolis, now Selenti, in Asia Minor. The burial places will prove to be almost all in Rome proper — in the Campus Martius; in the Horti Lamiani near the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele; on the slopes of the Pincian Hill; in the garden of Argius on the Via Aurelia; in a busy spot on the Quirinal Hill; in a villa on the Via Latina; under the great column in the Forum of Trajan; in the Castel Sant' Angelo near the Vatican. We shall, however, be compelled to go as far as Brixellum in northern Italy for the site of the humble tomb of one emperor — Otho.

As we journey, we shall be impressed, naturally, with the contrast between the simplicity of the place of birth of most of the emperors and the magnificence of their tombs. Furthermore, we shall see with admiration the steps that are being taken now or that have been taken in the past by the Italian government to preserve these tombs as carefully as possible for posterity.

We shall be interested, as we read for our journey, in noting the important parts played by nurses and faithful slaves in the administering of funeral rites, especially in the case of emperors who, discredited and deserted by most of their friends, died ignominiously. Incidentally, it is rather amazing to observe how many of these early rulers of the Empire died violent deaths. Caligula was stabbed. Claudius seems to have been poisoned. Nero took his own life, assisted by a freedman. Galba was beheaded by a mob. Otho stabbed himself. Vitellius was beaten to death by hostile soldiers. Domitian was stabbed. Commodus was given poison and then strangled. Hadrian attempted suicide sev-

eral times and even begged a slave to kill him, but he died ultimately of disease. Suspicions of violence, more or less well founded, hover around the deaths of four others. Dio Cassius retails gossip to the effect that Livia smeared poison on figs on the favorite tree of Augustus and then invited him to pick and eat them. Suetonius repeats the story that Tiberius may have been poisoned or smothered. A legend in connection with Titus recounts that he was poisoned by Domitian; another, that the emperor, already ill, was thrown into a vessel of snow. Even M. Aurelius, according to rumor, was hurried to his death by his son, who corrupted the attending physicians and impelled them to administer poison to the ailing emperor. Apparently only Vespasian, Nerva, Trajan, and Antoninus Pius died unquestionably natural deaths free from any suspicion of foul play.

For the whole of this imaginary journey, both "beginnings" and "endings," the appended summary may be helpful.

EMPEROR	PLACE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF DEATH	PLACE OF BURIAL
Augustus	Rome, Palatine	Nola	Rome, Campus Martius
Tiberius	Rome, Palatine; or Fundi	Misenum, Villa of Lucullus	Rome, Tomb of Augustus
Caligula	Probably Antium	Rome, Palatine	Rome, (1) Horti Lamiani; (2) Tomb of Augustus
Claudius	Lugdunum	Rome, Palatine	Rome, Tomb of Augustus, probably
Nero	Antium	Villa of Phaon, about 4 mi. from Rome, between Via Salaria and Via Nomentana	Rome, Tomb of the Domitii, on N. W. slope of Pincian Hill
Galba	Near Tarracina	Rome, near Lacus Curtius	Rome, Garden of Argius, on Via Aurelia
Otho	Unknown	Brixellum	Brixellum



EMPEROR	PLACE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF DEATH	PLACE OF BURIAL
Vitellius	Unknown	Rome, Scalae Gemoniae	Rome, (1) thrown into Tiber; (2) buried in unknown spot
Vespasian	Phalacrinae	Phalacrinae	Rome, (1) Tomb of Augustus; (2) Temple of Gens Flavia, on Quirinal Hill
Titus	Rome, near Septizonium	Phalacrinae	Rome, (1) Tomb of Augustus; (2) Temple of Gens Flavia, Quirinal
Domitian	Rome, site of Temple of Gens Flavia, Quirinal	Rome, Palatine	(1) Burned on estate near Rome, on Via Latina; (2) ashes put into Temple of Gens Flavia, Quirinal, Rome
Nerva	Narnia, probably	Rome	Rome, Tomb of Augustus
Trajan	Italica	Selinus (Trajanopolis) in Cilicia	(1) Burned in Selinus; (2) ashes put under column in Forum of Trajan
Hadrian	Italica, probably	Baiae, in villa of Caesar	(1) In villa of Cicero, near Puteoli; (2) Rome, own tomb near Pons Aelius
Antoninus Pius	Near Lanuvium	Lorium	Rome, Tomb of Hadrian, probably
Marcus Aurelius	Rome, Caelian	Pannonia, either Vindobona (Vienna), or Sirmium (Mitrovicz)	Rome, Tomb of Hadrian, probably
Commodus	Lanuvium	Rome	Rome, Tomb of Hadrian

## PORSONIANA

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By ERTA S. PRESTON  
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In the history of classical scholarship in England, the position of Richard Porson is unquestioned. He was one of the three famous Richards, in the trio with Bentley and Jebb; anecdotes about him are part of the tradition of Cambridge University. His most famous work was done on Suidas, Aristophanes, Aeschylus, and Euripides. The power of brilliant emendation was possessed by him to a degree no one else has ever attained, according to Jebb's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* and Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship*. His dry humor is mentioned as characteristic, and he was criticized for allowing it to enliven controversial articles on classical subjects. In his youth he had written two plays, one of them while he was at Trinity College, Cambridge, entitled *Out of the Frying-Pan into the Fire*, described as "full of rollicking fun." Later on in the midst of his serious studies, he contributed to leading periodicals, especially to *The Gentleman's Magazine* and to his brother-in-law's newspaper, *The Morning Chronicle*. He preceded the modern column contributor with imitations of Horace and parodies. Political satires on the war with France and the fear of "red" principles appeared in the guise of free translations, introduced by letters in prose.

One story in the *Morning Chronicle* told how a friend had found part of a lost tragedy of Sophocles, quoting a fragment of twelve iambic verses. Translated from the Greek, this proved to be a nursery rhyme, "Three Children Sliding on the Ice." Readers of *The Gentleman's Magazine* knew their Greek iambs in the early eighteen-hundreds.

Among the periodicals of that time was one called *Ackermann's Repository of Arts, Literature, Fashions, Manufactures, etc.* The title indicates the variety of material appearing in the *Repository*: fiction and feature articles, fashions and travel, humor and popular science, criticism and announcements of new music and current art exhibits, selections from new books. Letters from readers are encouraged by the editor, who apologizes to poets for delay in publishing their offerings, inquires for favorites who have ceased writing, and at the same time regrets his inability to print contributions tainted with personalities. In the April number for 1820, in Volume IX, which includes the six numbers from January to June of 1820, appear two charades by Professor Porson. Reading these, one recalls not only his humor and facility in versifying, but also that as a boy he had shown great aptitude for arithmetic.

#### CHARADES BY THE CELEBRATED PORSON

Mr. Editor,

All your readers have heard of that celebrated Greek scholar Porson and of his eccentricities; one of those eccentricities was a love for charades and rebuses, the playfulness of a great mind. The two, following, to my knowledge, were made by him; and I shall be happy, in your next number, to find a solution of them made by any of your correspondents. I am, etc. F. D. S.

My first from the thief tho' your house it defends,  
Like a slave or a cheat you abuse or despise.  
My second, tho' brief, yet, alas! comprehends  
All the good, all the great, all the learn'd, all the wise.  
Of my third I have little or nothing to say,  
Except that it marks the departure of day.

My first is the lot that is destin'd by fate  
To my second to meet with in every state;  
My third is by many philosophers reckon'd  
To bring very often my first to my second.

F. D. S. was not disappointed in his hope to find a solution by some reader, for the May number brings

SOLUTION OF THE TWO CHARADES OF PORSON

Sir,

Below I offer you a very humble poetical solution of the two charades inserted in your last, said to be (and I do not doubt they were) written by the late Professor Porson. I am, etc., J. M. Lacey.

CHARADE I.

Your *cur* will bark in dreary night,  
If thieves approach your door;  
And *few* would like to risk his bite,  
When the *curfew* hour is o'er.

CHARADE II.

If *woe* falls on *man*, as, alas! it will do,  
Oh! say not that *woman*, fair creature,  
Occasion'd his sorrow: the censure's untrue;  
'Tis denied by each beautiful feature.

## Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

### THE ORIGIN OF AEOLUS

Perhaps the most picturesque of all the folk tales that occur in Homer is the story of *Odyssey* x, 1-55. Here the wind-master Aeolus is visited by Odysseus and his companions; the old man sends them on their homeward way bearing with them the winds of heaven confined in a bag; but, on approaching Ithaca, the meddlesome followers of the hero loose the blasts and are blown back to the Aeolian isle for their pains.<sup>1</sup>

The essential feature of this sea yarn is unparalleled in Greek legend<sup>2</sup> unless we should choose to make an exception in the case of Empedocles.<sup>3</sup> Late accounts credit this philosopher with having caught the dangerous Sicilian winds in bags made from asses' skins. But there is manifestly no trace of true folk lore here. Even if the tale be accepted at its face value, it is clear that this highly sophisticated thinker of the fifth century was merely amusing himself by reproducing the Aeolian *mise-en-scène*.

On the other hand, Philostratus records that Apollonius of Tyana encountered a somewhat similar phenomenon when he visited India in the time of Nero. "They say," according to the report, "that they saw there two *pithoi* of black stone, jars of the rains and the winds. . . . The *pithos* of the winds seems to play

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Hyginus, *Fab.* 125; Ovid, *Met.* xiv, 223-32; Apollodorus, *Epit.* vii, 10 f.

<sup>2</sup> McCartney has no parallel to offer in his exhaustive article, "Magic and the Weather in Classical Antiquity," *Class. Weekly* xviii (1925), 154-57 and 163-66.

<sup>3</sup> The most complete account of the exploit is given by Diog. Laërt. viii, 60. Cf. Suidas, s. v. "Empedocles"; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromateis* vi, 3, p. 754 P.

the same part as the bag of Aeolus, for when they open the jar to some extent, they release one of the winds. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

There have been, and still are, weather wizards and weather witches of all varieties in the several regions of earth, but the magician who is capable of actually hawking the winds in a receptacle is very seldom met. Sir J. G. Frazer, in his long account of weather magic,<sup>5</sup> cites no exact parallel to Aeolus. Wilhelm Fiedler, however, in a recent monograph,<sup>6</sup> is able to show a number of instances where the same sort of tale is found. These examples are collected from the Scandinavian countries, including Finland and Lapland; one is from France. To these I would add a version that comes from the northeast coast of Scotland which is recounted by the Scottish historian, Donald A. Mackenzie.<sup>7</sup> A weather witch, Stine Veg, supplies a party of fishermen with a collection of winds confined in a water jar whose mouth is stopped with a wisp of straw. Like the Ithacans, they are a prey to curiosity and, upon unstoppering the jar, are blown back to their starting-point.

The northeast of Scotland, during the Middle Ages, was much exposed to the descents of the Norsemen. Hence this story is, in all probability, of Scandinavian origin. The French version mentioned above may very well have been conveyed by men of the same race to Normandy.

In his last published work,<sup>8</sup> the late Victor Bérard restates the traditional view that the island of Aeolus is Stromboli in the Lipari group. Had Bérard carried his researches as far among the inhabitants of northern Europe as he did among the Phoenicians, he would undoubtedly have come to realize that the Aeolus saga must have had its origin, as the evidence shows, among the windswept fiords of the far north, where the blasts frequently

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.* III, 14.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Frazer, *The Magic Art*: London, Macmillan and Co. (1917), I, 319-31.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Fiedler, *Antiker Wetterzauber*: Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer (1931), 36.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Mackenzie, *Tales from the Moors and the Mountains*: Glasgow, Blackie and Son (1931), 62-67.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Bérard, *Did Homer Live?* translated by Brian Rhys: New York, E. P. Dutton and Co. (1931), 130, 132, 156, 160, 185, and 194.



alter their direction almost in a moment and drive the fisherman back along the road that he has come. The tradition apparently accompanied the Achaeans in their wanderings from some point near the Baltic to the Mediterranean, while a somewhat different version was carried by another branch of Indo-European speaking people into the heart of India.

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### THE UNPAID TEACHER OF ANTIQUITY

Some of the unpaid teachers of today may not be acquainted with the following passage by Palladas, who flourished at Alexandria about A.D. 400. This citation details the pecuniary woes of the classical teacher and finds a place in Botsford and Sihler, *Hellenic Civilization*: New York, Columbia University Press (1915), 706:

Here instruction is given by those who are under the anger of Serapis: those that begin with the "Fatal Wrath." Here the boy's nurse each month brings his fee. . . . Even from that little she steals her own gains; she changes the copper and puts in lead; she takes her regular (toll). If someone is to bring a piece of gold for a year, in the eleventh month, before he has paid, he changes to another teacher, openly ungrateful, reviling the former master while he deprives him of his pay for the whole year.

It is interesting to note that the unpaid teacher is treated with disdain by those who are indebted to him. This illustrates the truth of the dictum of Tacitus: *Proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem laeseris* [*Agricola* XLII].

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### A ROMAN PARALLEL TO THE ENGLISH MAUNDY CUSTOMS

On March 24, 1932, according to a news dispatch from London, King George of England accompanied by Queen Mary personally distributed sixty-seven pence to each of sixty-seven men

and sixty-seven women, the amount of the gift and the number of the recipients having been determined by the age of the King or Queen. In addition to the symbolic sixty-seven pence, more substantial gifts of money were granted to this selected group. The bounty was given to the aged poor in observance of Royal Maundy, said to be Great Britain's most ancient custom, which this year was celebrated with unusual impressiveness because of the personal attendance of King George and Queen Mary at the distribution of the coins specially minted for the ceremony.

This English custom suggests certain practices of the Roman emperors, who on various occasions distributed among the poor doles of money called *congiaria*. The coins used were, like the Maundy Pennies, specially minted for the purpose, as is proved by the inscriptions found on such coins; for example, *congiarium VII Antonini* and *liberalitas VIII* of Caracalla (cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, Vol. I, part 2, p. 1443). Moreover, this money was usually distributed in person by the emperor. The scenes represented on the coins and certain passages in Roman history (cf. especially Dio Cassius LX, 25; LXXI, 32) offer convincing evidence of the similarity between the ancient and modern practice in this respect.

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### MOBY DICK AND THE PHAEDO

Plato, in the *Phaedo*, elaborates in some detail the sojourn in the company of the gods of the soul that has prepared for death. To make clear a conception which the limitation of human comprehension beclouds, he takes refuge in the myth of the earth's configuration. This he describes as a sphere of vast extent balanced in the heavens, and inhabited alike by men near at hand and by others in regions far beyond Greek experience, who dwell about the sea like ants and frogs about a marsh. Into the variegated hollows of the earth gather water and mist and air, and through these man from the pit looks up, believing in his folly that he is living in the purity of the heavens,

as though a man dwelling in the depths of the sea were to fancy that he was living on the surface, and because he beheld the sun and the stars through the water were to think that the sea was the heavens [*Phaedo* 109 c-d]. . . . Such is our experience, for we live in a hollow of the earth and fancy that we are dwelling on it; we call the air heaven and think that it is through this heaven that the stars move on their way [*ibid.* 109 d]. . . . But if a man could reach the surface, or taking to himself wings fly upward, he would lift up his head and behold the world beyond, just as the fishes gaze up from the sea and behold the world about us. And if his nature were able to endure the sight, he would see what in truth is heaven and light and earth [*ibid.* 109 e-110 a].

Thus Plato suggests through a myth the vagueness of mortal comprehension and the purity of the vision which awaits the unhampered immortal soul. It was probably some vague recollection of this passage from the *Phaedo* that Herman Melville carried in mind when in *Moby Dick* he described Ishmael perusing in the Whaleman's Chapel the marble tablets of the whalers who had gone before him, and musing on death after this manner:

Methinks we have hugely mistaken this matter of Life and Death. Methinks that what they call my shadow here on earth is my true substance. Methinks that in looking at things spiritual, we are too much like oysters observing the sun through the water, and thinking that thick water the thinnest of air. Methinks my body is but the lees of my better being. In fact take my body who will, take it I say, it is not me. And therefore three cheers for Nantucket; and come a stove boat and stove body when they will, for stave my soul, Jove himself cannot [*Moby Dick*, chap. vii, *fin.*].

The Platonism is too patent to be the chance creation of a similar figure by an independent mind. I suggest an unconscious reproduction of the figure principally because Melville does not mention his source even in the vague manner which is his custom with classical and biblical backgrounds. Nor would he have troubled to change fish to oysters if his memory had served him better.

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## SHOUTING THAT KILLED BIRDS

In his *Natural History*<sup>1</sup> Francis Bacon repeats the ancient belief that a volume of sound may be great enough to kill birds. His words are as follows:

It hath been anciently reported, and is still received, that extreme applauses and shouting of people assembled in great multitudes, have so rarefied and broken the air, that birds flying over have fallen down, the air not being able to support them.

No references are given, but the phenomenon is mentioned as occurring on at least three occasions in classical antiquity.

Coelius, as quoted by Livy (xxix, 25, 4<sup>2</sup>), says that no one in Italy or in Sicily had ever seen so large a number of men as embarked for Africa for the final campaign against Hannibal and states that birds fell to earth when the soldiers shouted.

While the bill to confer upon Pompey complete power to use Roman resources by sea in an effort to crush piracy on the Mediterranean was being debated Roscius proposed, by gesture language, that Pompey be given a colleague:<sup>3</sup>

At this, we are told, the people were incensed and gave forth such a shout that a raven flying over the forum was stunned by it and fell down into the throng. From this it appears that such falling of birds is not due to a rupture and division of the air wherein a great vacuum is produced, but that they are struck by the blow of the voice, which raises a surge and billow in the air when it is borne aloft loud and strong.

At the Isthmian games of 196 B.C. a Roman herald announced some good news from the Roman senate and Titus Quinctius Flaminius, whereupon the whole audience rose in a demonstration of joy:<sup>4</sup>

And that which is often said of the volume and power of the human voice was then apparent to the eye. For ravens which chanced to be flying overhead fell down into the stadium. The cause of this was the rupture of the air; for when the voice is borne aloft loud and strong, the

<sup>1</sup> Century II, No. 127.

<sup>2</sup> The same story is told by Valerius Maximus iv, 8, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Plutarch, *Pompey* xxv, 6 f. The translations here and in n. 4 are by B. Perrin in the Loeb Classical Library.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Plutarch, *Flaminius* x, 6.

air is rent asunder by it and will not support living creatures, but lets them fall, as if they were over a vacuum, unless, indeed, they are transfixed by a sort of blow, as of a weapon, and fall down dead. It is possible, too, that in such cases there is a whirling motion of the air, which becomes like a waterspout at sea with a reflux flow of the surges caused by their very volume.

As is indicated by the opening sentence of the last quotation, the belief that loud shouting by large gatherings of people could kill birds must have been widespread. It is difficult to see how such an idea originated, but in the large area occupied by an army there would doubtless be found occasionally the dead body of an apparently uninjured bird. An ingenious soldier might readily explain its death as due to the rending of the air by a noisy meeting. At all events it was inevitable that there would be imitators of the first historian who embellished an account of a great event with a tale of the killing of birds by a great volume of sound.

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## Book Reviews

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Iowa City, Ia. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editors-in-chief reserve the right of appointing reviewers.]

*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, Volume X: Rome, American Academy in Rome (1932). Pp. 1-182, with frontispiece and 60 plates. Price in Rome 100 lire, plus postage. May be obtained from the American Academy in Rome, 101 Park Avenue, New York City.

Seneca says that the world is a small thing if it does not provide a subject for everybody to investigate. Were he to return to the world he would doubtless be surprised to learn how many problems his own countrymen have bequeathed to investigators. It would be difficult for him to keep abreast of the literature on the life and thought of his own land. When I open a large volume by several hands I am always surprised not at the ingenuity of authors in finding subjects, but at the apparent ease with which they have done so. Evidently the world is *not* a small place.

In "Further Pompeian Studies" (7-54; Plates 1-13) Professor Van Buren continues his careful work with archaeological remains. His studies, which show the wide knowledge of bibliography that has made him an invaluable aid to students at the American Academy, reveal the possibilities and need of more detailed examination of Pompeian buildings and antiquities. He identifies a circular wall as the remains of an aviary, discusses missiles and stone balls, and makes certain deductions about several rooms and houses. Perhaps the section entitled "Discolored Stucco Walls," in which he investigates changes in the colors of the stucco, is the most important contribution.

In "The So-called First Triumvirate" (55-68) Professor H. A. Sanders notes that it is not easy to establish the date and the



real character of the First Triumvirate. He reminds us that the term is inaccurate and was unknown to the Romans (56). The Triumvirate "was certainly a personal agreement for political ends, comparable with political deals in our own country" (58) and was kept so secret that there was never a thought of it in Cicero's numerous letters from exile (68). It is natural to date it at the time when it was most needed, i.e. before the election of Caesar as consul (58). The real subject of the paper is "Cicero's knowledge or lack of knowledge of the secret coalition of Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar, the existence of which from the consular election of the summer of 60 B.C. on is admitted" (68). The author is warranted in hoping that his study "will produce at least a certain distrust of interpreting Cicero's *Letters* on the basis of our present-day knowledge of the history of the time" (68).

The inscriptions interpreted by Sanders in his second paper, "Some Inscriptions in Rome" (69-83; Plates 14-20), are recent finds within the city of Rome. They are all sepulchral in character. It is not often that epigraphical material is published in so satisfactory a manner. I doubt whether the letters on the stones are clearer than those on the large plates.

I am ready to accept the conclusions reached by Miss Marion Ayer Rubins in her paper, "A New Interpretation of *Jupiter Elicius*" (85-102). She relies largely upon Livy I, 20, 5-7, where Jupiter Elicius is represented as an intermediary between the Romans and the wisdom of the gods. Part of her summary is as follows:

... Jupiter Elicius is the god through whom man could "draw forth" from heaven knowledge of his all-important ritual. Jupiter Elicius is an intermediary between man and all the other gods, whose conflicting wishes rendered this service of supreme importance, especially at the beginning of Roman religion, that is, in the days of the organization of ritual, or in the period of Numa. That the connotation [denotation?] of the epithet later was obscured, when ritual had become fully established, is not in the least surprising.

The article "Greek Vases in the Museum of the American Academy in Rome" (103-27; Plates 21-29), by A. M. Harmon

and Esther V. Hansen, brings one step nearer to completion the cataloging of the archaeological material in the possession of the Academy. The method of giving references to similar published vases should make this collection especially serviceable for students at the Academy. It contains wares from many places and periods.

Fellows in architecture have made to this volume contributions of great importance. They and the former director of the Academy, Gorham P. Stevens, are to be congratulated on the uniform excellence of their work. In the frontispiece and on Plates 30-32 George Fraser reconstructs the central hall of the Roman bath at Leptis Magna on the Tripolitan Coast and gives a plan and sections. The accompanying text, "Roman Bath at Leptis Magna" (129-33), is by Professor A. W. Van Buren.

Lovers of Horace will be delighted with the work of Thomas D. Price in "A Restoration of 'Horace's' Sabine Villa" (135-42; Plates 34-42). To procure missing data for the completion of a survey 730 cubic yards of earth were removed under the direction of Dr. C. Lugli and the author. The plan, the photographs, and the restorations, particularly the longitudinal section, which is two feet long, enable one to visualize Horace's home life in a way that has never before been possible. It may likewise cause us to make some revision of our conceptions about Horace's ideal of rustic simplicity. Framed copies of the section should be available for every class in Horace.

"The 'Terme Nuove' at Ostia," by B. Kenneth Johnson (143 f., Plates 43-47), gives a plan and impressive longitudinal and transverse sections of baths of the second century A.D. which were recently discovered at Ostia.

To the growing literature on the fascinating subject of the pomerium James H. Oliver adds another paper, "The Augustan Pomerium" (145-82; Plates 48-60). Most of it is devoted to the archaeological evidence for an extension of the pomerium by Augustus. His work impresses me as accurate and thorough, but I am appalled by the minutiae of his learning. I shall leave it to students of Roman topography to express adequate appreciation of his labors.

In his opening sentence Mr. Oliver notes that the origin of the pomerium is obscure. I believe that its significance would be clearer if we compared it with the circles drawn by priests and magicians in various emergencies and contingencies.<sup>1</sup> I shall quote but one example, from Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* xxv, 50, where he is describing the method of gathering black hellebore: *Hoc et religiosius colligitur, primum enim gladio circumscribitur, dein qui succisurus est ortum spectat et precatur, ut id liceat sibi concedentibus diis facere observatque aquilae volatus.* . . . The pomerium may be the same sort of thing on a large scale. As Oliver notes (146), "Varro's description of the pomerium as an 'orbis' seems to indicate a line." I suspect that the problem of the space before or behind the walls is merely incidental and that it arose simply because of practical considerations, chiefly of a military nature, connected with the inclosing of a large area.

The large pages of this series are generally attractive, but the footnotes sometimes mar them. The appearance of some pages would be greatly improved by the incorporation in the text of short isolated references, an example of which is to be found on page 86. The bottom of page 98 could have been made to look better. It seems time to discontinue the old-fashioned use of periods after titles of articles, center heads, and captions.

The plates in this volume are admirable. The large size is ideal for the architectural restorations, which should be in the hands of all students who visit the ruins of the building which they represent.

The series of *Memoirs* is growing rapidly in importance as well as in size. The present number maintains the high standard already set.

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<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere in this JOURNAL (xxii, 454-56) I have appealed to popular lore and superstition in an effort to explain the feeling that breaks or openings in the sacred lines surrounding cities were sources of danger.

T. R. GLOVER, *Greek Byways*: New York, The Macmillan Co. (1932). Pp. 319. \$2.50.

In this volume Mr. Glover has collected a series of miscellaneous essays which will bring pleasure to all of his friends. The first chapter, "The Greek on the Sea," deals with the broad field of Greek colonization. "Diet in History" gives a useful survey of Greek meals gleaned from Herodotus, Aristophanes, and the other classical authors rather than from the professional cook-books. "Metallurgy and Democracy" is really a study in Greek economics. "The Wandering Greek" is a wandering discourse on Greek travel. "The Boy and the Theorist" contains thoughts on Greek education, the backbone of the discussion being furnished by Aristophanes' *Clouds*. "Curiosities of Natural History" is a catalogue of freaks taken from various classical authors. "The Manners of a Gentleman" are thoughts on Greek manners. "The Antiquaries" is a discourse on authors like Cato, Varro, Pliny, Lucian, and Gellius. "Foreign Gods" is mostly Orphic. The tenth chapter is devoted to Strabo and his work. "The Daemon Environment" is that queer conception, the *alter ego*. "The Study of Ancient History" is a summary of the value of ancient history to the modern student, and the "Vitality of Greece" is an appreciation along rather familiar lines of the living character of Greek influences.

"Byways" is a very good title for this collection of essays. The byways are literary and geographical, much better while the rambling is done in the literary environment than when the author treats of Greece itself. One misses in the latter case an intimate knowledge of the country, especially in such chapters as "The Greek on the Sea."

Through these essays one wanders with Glover almost wholly delighted. Wandering is the correct word, for the essays are discursive, and their charm is their very discursiveness. As one wanders through them some things surprise him. The tone of Sophocles' well-known comment (*Ant.* 332), "Many are the wondrous things" (page 139) is certainly not that of the Yorkshire proverb. "There's nought so queer as folk, and yet they

put wild beasts in menageries." Sophocles' thoughts are wholly complimentary, whereas the Yorkshire peasant was scarcely in that frame of mind. When it comes to curiosities of nature I wish Glover had been a little bit more explicit. I am so ignorant that I sometimes cannot tell when he is fooling and when he is in earnest. Are bear cubs really as small as appears on page 145? And why, among the curiosities of nature, did he not list those delightful animals with which Caesar embellishes the sixth book of the *Gallic War* (chapters 25-28)? One would like to add to the curiosities of nature the fact that Glover has never seen the Venus di Milo (page 294), but finds Greek influence in images of Buddha, which he has seen (page 296) in the museums of Lahore and Calcutta. Is Livy's famous comment on Polybius (page 277) really represented by Glover's translation, "A quite reliable author"? I had always thought that Livy was paying Polybius a much higher tribute than that: *Polybius haudquaquam spernendus auctor* (xxx, 45). Few students will, I believe, admit that the *Cyropaedeia* is a "great book" (page 161), but they will be comforted to know that Glover classes it as the "other great book" along with the *Memorabilia*. The two are undoubtedly to be classed together — and near one end of the class, too.

The essay which pleased me most was the one on Ancient History. I am thoroughly in agreement with Glover's idea of history expressed on page 288: "The objective treatment of History has led to attributing more significance to the situation than to the individual; which is so generally right that in the crucial case it is disastrously wrong and means the falsification of the whole thing." It is a truth too often overlooked by the historian, it seems to me, a truth emphasized recently by Prince von Buelow in his excellent *Memoirs*. It cannot be too often remembered that biology and biography cannot be written in the same way.

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H. E. BUTLER, *The Odes of Horace*: Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company (1932). Pp. vi + 303. \$2.00.

In this beautifully printed little volume will be found one translation of each of the *Odes* of Horace with the Latin text of the Ode facing it on the opposite page. The translations have been selected by H. E. Butler of University College, London. In an Appendix will be found a poem by Cowley which is an "imitation" of Book III, Ode One, and two fragments by Jonathan Swift, translations respectively of portions of Book III, Ode Two, and Book IV, Ode Nine.

These translations are selected from thirty-four authors ranging in date from Dryden, Ben Jonson, and Milton to Sir William Watson, who is the only living author represented. Sixteen of the odes are translated by Sir Stephen De Vere, sixteen by Conington, and upon seven Lord Lytton has laid his heavy hand. None of the *Epodes* has been included.

Translation is at best an unsatisfactory process, and perhaps no author presents so great difficulties as does Horace. He is so well known that each of his friends has in his own mind English equivalents for certain of his phrases which can be replaced by the words of no translator. I can make a translation of any ode of Horace which will seem to me better than any of the translations here included, but no one would agree with me in my conclusion. The translations by Stephen De Vere seem to me on the whole really good and those of Lord Derby excellent. Milton's translation of Book I, Ode Five is, of course, famous and technically marvelous. It always gives me the impression, however, of breaking a butterfly on a wheel. Eugene Field's paraphrase comes much nearer the spirit of the original and is, in my opinion, a better translation for that reason. I should like also to have seen some of Gladstone's translations included, not because they are better than Lytton's, but because a variety of badness would seem to me desirable.

Butler's task was no easy one. In spite of the objections I have made, his choice of translators and versions is admirable. Each rendition is dignified and at least metrical, if not always



poetic. The book is a beautiful piece of typography; it will delight any lover of Horace and may appropriately find a place in his collection.

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HOLGER PEDERSEN, *Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century, Methods and Results*, Translated from the Danish by John Webster Spargo: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1931). Pp. 360. \$5.

The Danes were pioneers in the study of comparative philology, and the high quality of their numerous contributions to linguistic science in recent years has been universally recognized. This book appeared originally in 1924. The author, a colleague of Otto Jespersen in the University of Copenhagen, is most fortunate to have obtained so skillful and sympathetic a translator as Professor Spargo. The latter remarks in his Preface that

in spite of the tremendous advance in knowledge of the past century and a quarter the results have not been incorporated in our general culture. The average cultivated person of today can be expected to know less than nothing of linguistics. One reason is that these results have not been easily accessible, and another is that this remarkable story has never been told as Professor Pedersen tells it.

A third reason cited is the "terror of language study so prevalent in America," some of which he hopes to dispel by showing "how really interesting and relatively simple the study of language is." The quality of the translator's work is attested when one finds the easy presentation, precise statement, and luminous example without let or hindrance that are said to characterize the author's style.

Turning to the contents, the Introduction surveys the history of linguistic science prior to the nineteenth century. The Greeks had no clear ideas of language relationship, and their etymologies are of no value; their significant contribution to linguistic science lay in the names for the sounds and parts of speech and for the inflectional endings which the Romans translated and handed down to mediaeval and modern Europe. The scholar of the

Middle Ages knew the language of his nearest neighbors and his Latin but had little on which to base a study of comparative linguistics. It was early in the eighteenth century that a new spirit arose. Problems were formulated, and material was systematically collected. From the scholars of that era nineteenth-century linguistics inherited the problem of a rational study of the Indo-European family of languages.

The first four chapters of the book deal with the development and present status of Indo-European and comparative linguistics. The specific contributions of well-known scholars appear naturally in the proper narrative context. One finds here what had hitherto been lacking in English, an authoritative modern statement of our present knowledge regarding this great family of languages and its branches. One chapter is devoted to the non-Indo-European languages and another to inscriptions and archaeological discoveries which have to do with the development of alphabets. The seventh chapter is a discussion of the aims and methods of comparative linguistics. Here under "the older period" we find mention of Rasmus Rask, Franz Bopp, Jacob Grimm, Schleicher, and Fick, while the "new period" comprises the Italian scholar Ascoli, Karl Verner, Ferdinand de Saussure, Karl Brugmann, Henry Sweet, and others. In the later period interest shifted to phonetic laws, and here one finds the genesis of present-day emphases in phonetics and analogy. The last chapter is an enlightening account of the home, civilization, and linguistic affinities of the Indo-Europeans.

The book is artistically finished and contains three maps, several plates, and numerous diagrams and charts. Throughout the pages — yet not too conspicuously — appear the portraits of some eighty scholars of every nationality, but of course mostly Germans. There is a General Index and an Index of Words. No bibliography was required. Works appearing since 1924 and bearing on the subject are mentioned in the notes.

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MARTIN P. NILSSON, *The Mycenaean Origins of Greek Mythology* (The Sather Classical Lectures, Vol. 8): Berkeley, Calif., University of California Press (1932). Pp. ii + 258. \$3.50.

In a lucidly written and beautifully printed <sup>1</sup> volume Professor Nilsson, whose preeminence in this field hardly anyone could undertake to dispute, elaborates an important thesis which he has briefly expressed elsewhere on several occasions,<sup>2</sup> perhaps most succinctly thus: "The formation of the great mythical cycles . . . goes back to Mycenaean times."<sup>3</sup> To this view the particular burden of the present work, i.e. that these myths arose in the principal centers of Mycenaean culture, is obviously only a corollary, but necessary to the establishment of the contention.

After an important introductory chapter in which the author briefly but cogently refutes the current British vagary of utilizing mythological genealogies even for chronology, Bethe's ascription of the heroic myths mainly to the seventh century or even later, Wilamowitz' predilection for trans-Aegean origins, and the "fundamentalist" Homeric unitarianism because of its one-sided restriction of method to literary analysis and its disregard of the historical deductions from linguistics, archaeology, and comparative literature, Nilsson applies some of the best established results of the comparative study of epics the world over, following therein the lead brilliantly struck by my revered teacher, Robert von Pöhlmann, now nearly forty years ago.

The body of the work is devoted to the generally quite successful endeavor to connect the more famous myth-cycles with the greatest Mycenaean centers, and (although this part of the argument, in the nature of the case, is frequently far less compelling), to trace their origins back to Mycenaean times. There follow

<sup>1</sup> The only slightly disturbing misprint noted is that of the inscription quoted on p. 41, n. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Especially in his *A History of Greek Religion* (Oxford, 1925) 38-40. *Der Mykenische Ursprung der Griechischen Mythologie* in *Festschrift für Jakob Wackernagel* (Göttingen, 1923), 137-42; and *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*: Lund (1927), 44-46 and 547.

<sup>3</sup> *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, 537.

special chapters in the nature of appendices on Heracles and on Olympus, which are full of interesting even though frequently controversial matter. In general I regard the thesis of the book as extremely plausible, and the method and arguments employed as in the main convincing, if not always quite unanswerable. At all events, this is certainly the proper line of approach to such historical problems.

A few somewhat miscellaneous comments on details may perhaps be appended here. It is encouraging to observe (pp. 32 and 103) the skepticism he now feels about the dubious "Ring of Nestor," since in his *Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* he had made every effort to take it quite seriously. Nilsson is perhaps a little too inclined to find mythical themes in Minoan Art (though of course not to such lengths as von Salis), and the appearance of a chimaera (33 f. and 52-54) in no wise implies the Bellerophon myth (as Wilamowitz<sup>4</sup> has pertinently observed); the picture itself, as likely as not, gave rise to the story. Yet he makes an excellent point in arguing that the scantiness of mythological pictures among the Minoans and Mycenaeans cannot properly be used as an argument against the existence of myths at the time, by observing that there are but one or two myths in the whole range of Geometric art, despite the fact that its period coincides with that of Homer and the immediate predecessors of Hesiod. Extremely bold but fascinating is the suggestion that the myth of the fifty daughters of Danaus may have originated in some actual occurrence, when captive Danaan women (of the Viking breed, like the women of the Cimbri and the Teutones) may have murdered their Egyptian captors by night and made good their escape (p. 67). Very strong is the negative evidence of Olympia: No Mycenaean settlement, and no very early myths either (p. 95). So also Midea and Gla, the two largest of the Mycenaean fortresses, have no myths, but were clearly constructed just before the final catastrophe and therefore could not have had any (p. 128).

<sup>4</sup> U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*: Berlin, Weidmann (1931), I, 121 f.

It seems a pity to change the beautiful

*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona  
multi*

of Horace in the so-called "proverb . . . *vixere etiam ante Agamemnona fortes viri*" (p. 11). In this connexion I cannot but express the regret that some friend did not quietly eradicate the dozen or more trifling infelicities which slightly mar the otherwise, for a foreigner, remarkably idiomatic and effective style.

The Cilicians of Hypoplacian Thebes are more likely to have been a remnant, like the Dorians of the Tetrapolis, than an "off-hand" localization on the part of an ignorant poet. The statements about the draining of the Copaic Lake (pp. 101 and 147) are partly erroneous. The Minyan work never could have laid the entire lake-floor dry (the center had a thick layer of peat when finally drained in 1890), but merely helped carry the water direct to the principal *katavothras*. The lake was never actually drained until the nineteenth century, and the promoters of the enterprise have been in constant financial difficulties ever since, because the soil of the floor (clay, peat, and chalk) was found to be distinctly less fertile than that of the surrounding land,<sup>5</sup> so that in 1914 the entire center and eastern end was abandoned to what was even indifferent pasturage. The main purpose of the Minyan efforts was hardly more than to keep open the natural outlets so as to prevent the lake from so rising as to flood the really fertile land adjoining it.

Any argument based on the assumption that "Boeotia had no other harbor [than Aulis] on its eastern coast" (pp. 145 f.) must be faulty, inasmuch as Boeotia had a first-class harbor in Larymna during all this early period, as I have shown (*Real-Encyclopädie*,<sup>2</sup> XI, 1135 f. and the literature there cited).—The cult of Ariadne was not in "Opuntian Locris" (172) but in Ozolian Locris, and very likely, therefore, connected with Ceos, which is well known to have been a "colony" of Naupactus.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. A. Struck: *Zur Landeskunde von Griechenland*: Frankfurt a. M., Heinrich Keller (1912), 89 f. As a peasant of the neighboring Karditsa expressed it: "There is no bread in this earth."

I doubt if it is worth while taking such trouble (pp. 178-80) about the geographical locations of myths. The difficulty is caused for the most part quite needlessly, I think, by assuming that the tight little local boundary-lines of the historical period existed also under the Mycenaean kings, when the alignments probably were a bit different. And much the same remark will apply to the localization of the Heracles myth (pp. 188-220). Originally, of course, it was loose and floating, like our American "John Henry" and "Paul Bunyan" stories. A universal hero like Heracles was "born" merely where some local cult or myth told of infantile prowess (like the story of the snakes at Thebes), or some object was interpreted as a cradle, or the like. Occasionally the Logographoi were faced with such embarrassment as two birthplaces for the same hero (as for Heracles), or two graves (as for Coroebus), or four mothers (as for the Locrian Aias); but the difficulties of the Logographoi surely need not be shared by the modern scholar.

Finally, I either misunderstand the argument on p. 235 about Olympus, or else it is quite wrong. "The rosy dawn breaking forth over the peaks of Mount Olympus" surely presupposes a position east of the mountain, and not west, as Nilsson asserts. This I know very well from having been brought up as a child due east of snow-crowned Sahend Dag (connected by legend with Zoroaster), as well as from many early mornings among high mountains. I recall at this moment most vividly Long's Peak, the Matterhorn, and Mount Ararat, all as seen from the east. From that side the snowy mountain-top catches the dawn and the early sunlight long before the valley or plain, and light literally travels down the mountain towards the observer. From the west, however, the high mountain is black against the dawn, and looks far more like the last outposts of the darkness.

W. A. OLDFATHER

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- J. G. O'NEILL, *Ancient Corinth with a Topographical Sketch of the Corinthia. Part I: From the Earliest Times to 404 B.C.* (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 8.): Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press (1930). Pp. xiii + 270, with 10 plates. \$5.

The subject which the author has chosen presents, as he himself indicates in his Preface, an unusual opportunity, the opportunity to give a new perspective to Greek history by considering it from the point of view of a minor power rather than from that of Athens and Sparta. From this point of view, his contribution is valuable, but the task should be completed by carrying the story down at least to 146 B.C. or better still, to the end of the Roman Empire and the early Byzantine period. It is to be hoped that the author will find time to do this and will reshape his interpretation of the entire ancient history of Corinth into a single continuous whole. If this is done, the reviewer would favor relegating more of the details of controversy to footnotes and appendices and enriching and sometimes probably correcting the interpretations by further consideration of the general historical conditions of the time.

Some more specific points in connection with the author's treatment of his subject may be noted. The discussion of the topography of the Corinthia seems to contain much valuable work but is hard to follow. The map given in the volume is not reproduced well enough to give a great deal of help. On the other hand, the accounts of the results of excavations in the city are accompanied by excellent plans and good illustrations. The discussion of early Corinthian history is marked by conservatism. This in many ways is well, though the reviewer has the feeling that Professor O'Neill and many others seem to have too much faith in the details transmitted; but this, as it already has been implied, is a moot point. An important part is assigned to Corinth in the history of the fifth century. In the account of the events of 459-457 we are told (p. 190) that "Sparta was very slow to move. Corinth, however, forced her." If this is true, it requires proof or further explanation and not merely a dogmatic

statement. Other statements concerning Sparta and the Peloponnesian League seem to indicate a lack of a complete understanding of the latter institution. In connection with Marathon the author remarks (p. 181) that Sparta "did not even order any member of the league to go to the assistance of Athens." Certainly the normal procedure would have been to call a meeting of the assembly to decide the question; and if a meeting had been called, the attitude of Aegina was such that there was no guarantee that the assembly would have favored action. Thus Sparta's attitude was not as reprehensible as the statement quoted implies. Even though Corinth was the one of the enemies of Athens that was most responsible for bringing on the Peloponnesian War, this fact does not prove "that she was the life and spirit of the League and Sparta only the nominal head" (p. 210). Likewise the statement (p. 224) that in the first ten years of the war Corinth was "behind the scenes, guiding and controlling events" seems to exaggerate her influence and importance. The discussion of the causes of the Peloponnesian War is, as a whole, excellent, though the author seems almost overly anxious to prove that Thucydides was completely right in his analysis. The Corinthians "were chiefly responsible for the war" (p. 214), but "she [Corinth] could never have set in motion the whole Peloponnesian Confederacy had not Sparta been afraid of the increase in the Athenian power" (p. 209). Surely it is possible to believe that Thucydides could have been guilty of a misplaced emphasis even in such a matter as this without losing faith in the general accuracy and credibility of his work.

JAKOB A. O. LARSEN

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H. GROSE-HODGE, *Murder at Larinum* (Being the narrative portions of Cicero's speech *Pro Cluentio*): Cambridge, The University Press (1932). Pp. xviii + 93.

In his Preface Mr. Grose-Hodge suggests that he might have called this little volume "More and Better Murders or Oppianicus, The Master Crook of Larinum." It is his thesis that in these

days of mystery stories this exciting tale set in an Italian town of the late Republic will appeal to the modern boy. He divides his "thriller" into six parts: Part I, "The Crimes of Oppianicus and Sassia." Part II, "The Wooing of Sassia by Oppianicus." Part III, "Attempt of Oppianicus to Murder Cluentius. Trial of His Agents." Part IV, "The Trial of Oppianicus. Who Bribe the Jury?" Part V, "The Charge against Cluentius. Who Killed Oppianicus?" Part VI, "Sassia's Last Attempt. Investigation by Torture." Furthermore a résumé of the action is given under each chapter heading; e. g., for Part II the following atrocities of the monster Oppianicus are outlined: "(1) The murder of his own sons; (2) The murder of his own wife, Cluentia; (3) The murder of his brother, C. Oppianicus; (4) The murder of his brother's wife, Auria; (5) The murder of the young rake, Asuvius; (6) The murder of his mother-in-law, Dinaea" (p. 6). It truly sounds like Fletcher or Packard! Additional help to the student in following the rather involved plot is given by the family trees of the Aurii, Oppianici, and the Cluentii, which are set forth in tabular form in the Introduction. Each section also has a heading summarizing the events therein. The notes adequately explain syntactical difficulties. A Latin-English Vocabulary is provided at the end of the book.

Many American teachers will welcome this little book which, as its editor says, can "combine instruction with amusement." It would seem quite appropriate to be read at the beginning of the third year in high school or perhaps at the end of the second year as an introduction to Cicero. It should also make interesting sight reading for college classes.

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## Hints for Teachers

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[Edited by Dorrance S. White of the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and materials are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

### Are Hints a Latin Playground?

Would-be contributors to this department need not be abashed by the able article, "Latin as Fetish," that appeared in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXVIII (1932), 4-11. The implication, from a sly thrust, would seem to be that we had subscribed to the idea that the Latin classroom should be made a playground, in which youth would slide down, not climb up, their inflections and do whirligigs around, not careful threading the way through, the mazes of syntax.

This department recognizes too well the dangers of trying to deceive pupils into the belief that mastery of Latin is not essential or that mastery can be attained by anything short of hard work. And it is unthinkable that any of the previous editors have been misled on this matter. But we do heartily subscribe to the idea that Latin must be made more interesting than teachers have ever made it before. And the present status of society being what it is and demanding a different attitude toward the interest and compulsion theories, we shall welcome all contributions that have as their keynote interest as well as efficient methods.

We hold no brief for methods that turn the classroom into a playground. We agree that the business of the teacher is to teach Latin and make his pupils like it if they will. But we have little patience with the individual who thinks that he is failing in his

duty unless his pupils are sweating blood. Shame enough on the teacher who makes his room a park for the lazy pupil who is concerned only to get a little tanned by exposure! More shame on the antiquated pedagogue who blisters his charges with burdens unenlivened with cheer! With Ovid we would caution, *Inter utrumque vola!*

#### **To Reduce Vocabulary-Thumbing**

Teachers who do not find their classes improving as rapidly as they expect at the opening of the second semester may lay the trouble generally to slighted vocabulary exercises. The student must master his 500 or 600 words per year before appreciable progress and any real interest in his work will result. And this mastery must be mastery. The meanings of words must spring readily to his mind. This will not result from meeting the word a few times in the reading material. Theoretically it should, but pupils who are not checked up on word-drills are always inveterate vocabulary-thumbers.

Now we may give our pupils vocabulary exercises in such a way that they will enjoy them about as much as they do spinach or cod-liver oil; or we may make the whole process pleasant and still leave the vitamins there. The most important feature of vocabulary-building in the first year is the mastery of the special vocabulary of the day. And since a pupil learns a word much sooner and more thoroughly by writing it than by hearing it or by saying it, the most important exercise is the daily dictation drill. This should occur early in the recitation period. Its competitive nature helps to make it interesting. Speed is highly essential. Let slips be prepared, of one-half letter size, preferably printed or mimeographed, with places for name, subject, and date at top, numbers from one to ten along the left margin with lines to aid neatness, and at the bottom the phrase "corrected by" followed by a space for the name of the pupil who may correct the slip. Each pupil should be given a supply of five for the week to be kept by a rubber band in the back of his book or in an envelope pasted in the back.

At the command the slip should be produced and the heading filled. The words should be dictated sharply and rapidly. They may be either all the words of the day's lesson or one-half advance and one-half review. The pupil should copy as dictated and follow with sign of equality and the single English meaning. Teachers whose conscience will not allow them to omit the marking of even a long antepenultimate vowel may stop long enough for pupils to accomplish that feat, although, in the opinion of the editor, this kind of accuracy has produced neither happier nor more efficient Latin scholars.

When the dictation has been completed, each pupil should pass his slip to his neighbor and proceed quickly to check off the exercise from the teacher's dictation. He should place a grade according to the teacher's decision, e.g., one error counting *B*, two *C*, three "Fail," or any other system of values which shall necessitate nearly all of the words being correct in order to effect a passing mark. Too great leniency, obviously, renders the competitive nature of the exercise of little value.

The corrected slips should be returned immediately to the owners and a show of hands made for perfect marks. Then the slips, each bearing the name of the person correcting, are collected and brought to the desk. After session a pupil should copy results on to a chart. If the posting of this chart constituted in the mind of the teacher a too pitiless publicity, pupils who had not averaged a certain amount by Friday should be properly penalized.

We repeat that speed, system, and regularity are prime requisites in this exercise. Let one thing alone be tested, accuracy of meaning. For genitives, gender, and principal parts, let other exercises play their part. Otherwise it will prove a matter of decimals or fractions in determining the grade of a pupil's slip, which will defeat the whole project by consuming too much time.

Every tenth or eleventh exercise should be extended to contain fifty words. Let the pupil come to class with fifty Latin words proportionately chosen as to parts of speech from the vocabularies of the past ten or fifteen days, written in ink on a sheet of full



size and numbered. Have the same heading as for the shorter exercise; but at the bottom, three spaces preceded by "Time," "Number Correct," and "Grade." Before giving the signal to start, take one minute in which to look over the sheets lying before the pupils to see that no unfairness is attempted.

At a signal let all start writing the meanings of the words. Hold a watch on them; and when a hand is raised to indicate completion, pronounce the time, which the pupil puts in the proper space. Write on the board the names and time records of the five pupils finishing first, as the hands are raised. Then only pronounce the time records of the next five. For the remainder, let their papers bear the last named time record followed by the plus sign. Let a *Scriba* keep the record and help you make out the chart.

The editor of Hints has used these two exercises for many years. Good results are certain to follow. But speed and accuracy must be insisted upon. Pupils like the exercise. It adds only slightly to the work of the classroom. The exercise may be made more difficult by reversing the order to English-Latin. The first exercise usually takes not more than three or four minutes; the latter, not over six.

#### Historical Background

In connection with stories of an historical or traditional nature found in the newer texts, it adds to the interest in assigning the story to stress some of the more important points by reading to the class a short sketch on the same character or theme from *Famous Men of Rome* by Haaren and Poland (New York, American Book Co. [1904], \$.72) or similar text. Pupils will then attack the story with much more interest.

JESSIE B. JURY

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#### Word Ancestry

In the financial and commercial sections of newspapers one sees frequent mention of the fiscal year. This is the business year

— a period of twelve months at the end of which reckoning is made. It may or may not coincide with the calendar year, which, of course, ends with December 31. The fiscal year of the United States government ends June 30.

So much by way of introduction. The interesting thing about all this is that it was started by a little Latin word meaning a twig-woven basket — *fiscus*. This basket might hold anything, but it so frequently was used as a receptacle for money that it came to be thought of as a money-basket, much as we think of a purse. In time it was used to signify the public treasury. "Fiscal" means pertaining to the treasury, and thus the word is used by our government today. But the business world generally uses it to apply to its own commercial and financial transactions and its periodic balancing of accounts.

*Fiscus* will suggest "confiscate" — Latin *confiscare* — to seize as forfeited to the public treasury, to appropriate to public use.

WILLIS A. ELLIS

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#### Latin and the Pronunciation of English

James A. Weeks of Franklin, N. J., has sent to this department an article emphasizing the excellent opportunity that comes to the Latin teacher of leading pupils into the habit of carefulness in the pronunciation of the English words which they use in translation. He has touched upon something important; for those who are striving for scholarship in Latin should strive equally for scholarship in English. It is not practicable to print the article in full, but Mr. Weeks points out that Latin words are sometimes useful in indicating and helping to retain in memory the proper pronunciation of English words, mentioning by way of example "comparable," "sacrilegious," "culinary," "jugular," "hymeneal," and others.

#### Cicero of Arpinum

Readers of Hints may be interested to learn that G. E. Stechert and Company (31 East 10th St., New York) have made a cor-

rected reprint of E. G. Sihler's *Cicero of Arpinum*, first published by the Yale Press in 1914 but out of print for many years. The reprint, like the first edition, costs three dollars.

#### Were the Romans Different?

Another contributor offers material which he says always affords pleasure to his college classes in Martial. We printed contributions from Professor H. C. Nutting in the Hints of CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXVII (1932), 629 f. and XXVIII (1932), 227 f., which contained excerpts from the works of a number of Roman writers. High-school pupils will enjoy working out the meaning of these passages and perhaps get from them an idea of the interesting variety of material which they may read if their study of Latin is sufficiently prolonged.

Martial's *Epigrams* abound in pictures with a distinctively modern coloring. The following selections from the *Epigrams* might be placed on the board or mimeographed, and then be translated and explained by either teacher or class.

#### *A "Vest-Pocket" Edition*

Martial informs his readers of a "vest-pocket" edition of his works, suitable for travelers:

Qui tecum cupis esse meos ubicumque libellos  
et comites longae quaeris habere viae,  
hos eme, quos artat brevibus membrana tabellis:  
scrinia da magnis, me manus una capit (1, 2, 1-4).

#### *Gold Diggers*

Gemellus has only one reason for wanting to marry Maronilla:

Petit Gemellus nuptias Maronillae  
et cupit et instat et precatur et donat.  
Adeone pulchra est? Immo foedius nil est.  
Quid ergo in illa petitur et placet? Tussit (1, 10).

Aper would be indicted for murder were he living today:

Dotatae uxori cor harundine fixit acuta,  
sed dum ludit, Aper: ludere novit Aper (x, 15).

#### *The Dilettante*

Atticus is a "jack of all trades and master of none":

Declamas belle, causas agis, Attice, belle,  
historias bellas, carmina bella facis,

componis belle mimos, epigrammata belle,  
 bellus grammaticus, bellus es astrologus,  
 et belle cantas et saltas, Attice, belle,  
 bellus es arte lyrae, bellus es arte pilae.  
 Nil bene cum facias, facias tamen omnia belle,  
 vis dicam quid sis? magnus es ardelio (II, 7).

*The Ladies' Man*

Cotilus *inter alia* curls his hair on curling irons, perfumes his hair,  
 and knows the latest popular songs:

Cotile, bellus homo es: dicunt hoc, Cotile, multi.  
 Audio: sed quid sit dic mihi bellus homo?  
 "Bellus homo est, flexos qui digerit ordine crines,  
 balsama qui semper, cinnama semper olet,  
 cantica qui Nili, qui Gaditana susurrat,  
 qui movet in varios brachia volsa modos,  
 inter femineas tota qui luce cathedras  
 desidet atque aliqua semper in aure sonat,  
 qui legit hinc illinc missas scribitque tabellas,  
 pallia vicini qui refugit cubiti,  
 qui scit quam quis amet, qui per convivia currit,  
 Hirpini veteres qui bene novit avos" (III, 63, 1-12).

*Bought but Not Paid For*

Zoilus is extravagantly dressed, but —

Pexatus pulchre rides mea, Zoile, trita.  
 Sunt haec trita quidem, Zoile, sed mea sunt (II, 58).

*The Wrong Row and the Wrong Seat*

Phasis pretends to be one of the knights, for whom the front rows in  
 the theater are reserved, but Leitus, the usher, knows better:

Edictum domini deique nostri  
 quo subsellia certiora fiunt  
 et puros eques ordines recepit  
 dum laudat modo Phasis in theatro,  
 Phasis purpureis rubens lacernis,  
 et iactat tumido superbus ore  
 "Tandem commodius licet sedere,  
 nunc est reddita dignitas equestris,  
 turba non premimur nec inquinamur,"  
 haec et talia dum refert supinus,  
 illas purpureas et adrogantes  
 iussit surgere Leitus lacernas (v, 8).

*False Teeth*

Thais habet nigros, niveos Laecania dentes.

Quae ratio est? emptos haec habet, illa suos (v, 43).

*The Champion*

Hermes, the champion "triple-threat" gladiator, was as popular as Babe Ruth:

Hermes, Martia saeculi voluptas,  
 Hermes, omnibus eruditus armis,  
 Hermes, et gladiator et magister,  
 Hermes, turba sui tremorque ludi,  
 Hermes, quem timet Helius, sed unum,  
 Hermes, cui cadit Advolans, sed uni,  
 Hermes, vincere nec ferire doctus,  
 Hermes, subpositicius sibi ipse,  
 Hermes, divitiae locariorum,  
 Hermes, cura laborque ludiarum,  
 Hermes, belligera superbus hasta,  
 Hermes, aequoreo minax tridente,  
 Hermes, casside languida timendus,  
 Hermes, gloria Martis universi,  
 Hermes, omnia solus et ter unus (v, 24).

*What's in a Name?*

Cinnamus, a former slave, has changed his name:

Cinnam, Cinname, te iubes vocari.  
 Non est hic, rogo, Cinna, barbarismus?  
 Tu si Furius ante dictus esses,  
 Fur ista ratione dicereris (vi, 17).

*Semper Eadem*

Lesbia does not give her correct age:

Consule te Bruto quod iuras, Lesbia, natam,  
 mentiris. Nata es, Lesbia, rege Numa?  
 sic quoque mentiris, namque, ut tua saecula narrant,  
 ficta Prometheo diceris esse luto (x, 39).

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FRANCIS L. JONES

## Current Events

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[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John Barker Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Victor D. Hill, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

### Allentown, Pa.

The regular fall meeting of the Classical League of the Lehigh Valley was held on Saturday, December 3, 1932, at Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa. The officers for the ensuing year are: president, Earl LeVerne Crum of Lehigh University; and secretary-treasurer, Mary L. Hess of Liberty High School, Bethlehem, Pa. Dr. Crum gave an illustrated lecture entitled "Tomar and Alcobaca," and Miss Hess discussed the "Secondary Schools of Germany, with Special Reference to the Study of Latin and Greek."

### Amherst College

At the recent installation of Stanley King as president of Amherst College, Walter Lippmann is reported to have said:

"I find in my own experience that those who are most palpitating in their desire to bring the colleges into contact with what they call the real world are the second-rate scholars and the second-rate practical men. For the first-rate scholar, learning and the contemplation of the things of the spirit need no justification by their effects on business or politics or any other concern of man. They are intrinsically valuable



and self-justifying. What the world needs most of all from the colleges is not medicine for its pains but the maintenance intact, amidst all the distractions of life, of its standards of excellence."

#### Greater Boston

The Classical Club of Greater Boston held its annual dinner meeting on November 19, 1932. Helen F. Hill, the censor of the club, gave a history of the organization, and the guest speaker was George H. Chase of Harvard University, who gave an illustrated account of the recent excavations in the Athenian Agora. The reading section of the club is planning to take up Terence under the direction of Wilfred Westgate of the department of classics at Harvard.

#### Education in China

The report of the League of Nations mission of educational experts to China, as quoted in *School and Society* XXXVI (December 17, 1932), 789-91 contains material which would be of interest to some of our members:

The members of the mission appear to be particularly suspicious of departments of education built on the American pattern. They point out that in the United States "education is now regarded as a distinct subject, a science in fact, which embodies all the relevant sciences such as psychology, sociology, method, didactics, school management, hygiene, etc. An ever increasing number of educators are constantly being released by the universities, that is to say secondary-school teachers familiar with all the subjects covered by the science of education and who have not specialized in one or the other of the subjects comprised in the programme of studies. Without exaggeration it has been said that many of these men 'know how to teach what they do not know themselves.' This is not said jokingly; it constitutes the entire problem of teacher training" (p. 119). The author insists, further, that "under present circumstances, to combine the study of pedagogy in such detailed form, including experimental psychology and school administration, with the intensive scientific studies that must be pursued by a secondary-school teacher in the matter of natural sciences or philological sciences, is to undertake a task which is beyond human possibility or which is at least beyond the resources which may be drawn upon in practice during the few years spent in study. The recognition of this fact has, in the majority of European countries, led to a considerable retrogression of the importance attached to pedagogy in the training of secondary-school teachers" (pp. 119 f.).

**Harvard University**

Edward Kennard Rand of Harvard University has accepted appointment as exchange professor to France for the first semester of 1933-34. His lectures will be delivered at the Sorbonne.

**Milwaukee**

The Latin Section of the Wisconsin State Teachers Association met in Milwaukee November 3, 1932. The following papers were read: "Shall We Celebrate for Horace?" by W. A. Ellis of the *Chicago Daily News*; "The Reading Method in Latin" by Elsie Smithies of the University High School, University of Chicago; and "How Dead is Latin?" by C. A. Gaenssle of the Washington High School, Milwaukee. Officers for 1932-33 were elected as follows: chairman, Anita Showerman of the Wauwatosa High School, and secretary-treasurer, Catherine O'Grady of the Peckham Junior High School, Milwaukee.

**Classical Association of New England, Rhode Island**

The annual fall meeting of the Rhode Island Section of the Classical Association of New England was held in the Classical High School, Providence, on October 25, 1932. The guest speaker, Augustus M. Lord of Providence, read an enjoyable paper on "A Lesson from the Classics." At the business meeting Russel M. Geer of Brown University was elected president of the section for 1932-1933.

**Classical Association of New England, Western Mass.**

The Western Massachusetts Section of the Classical Association of New England held its annual meeting at Northfield Seminary, East Northfield, on October 29, 1932. The program follows: Welcome by Mira B. Wilson, principal of Northfield Seminary; "Mediterranean Notes" by John S. Galbraith, Williams College; "The Position of Classics in College Admission Requirements from 1642 to 1900" by Claude L. Allen, Jr., Deerfield Academy; Round Table Conference: College Conference, F. W. Wright, Smith College, Chairman; Secondary School Conference, Emilie de Rochemont, Central High School, Springfield, Chairman; "A Famous Translation" by Julia H. Caverno, Smith College.

**Syracuse, N. Y.**

The Christmas meetings of the Archaeological Institute and the American Philological Association were held at Syracuse, N. Y., and the program of papers was carried through as already announced in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*. There were 200 registrations representing 170

members of the American Philological Association and 97 members of the Institute. The next meeting will be held in Washington, D. C., December 27- 29, 1933.

In the Institute Louis E. Lord, David M. Robinson, Clarence Ward, Edward Capps, Jr., and Rollin H. Tanner were reelected respectively as president, vice-president, secretary, assistant secretary, and treasurer. In the American Philological Association the new president is Campbell Bonner, with Elizabeth H. Haight and B. L. Ullman as first and second vice-presidents. Roy C. Flickinger and Joseph W. Hewitt were reelected as secretary-treasurer and editor of publications. New members of the Executive Committee are LeRoy C. Barret and Joseph W. Hewitt.

In the Advisory Council of the American Academy the new chairman is W. A. Oldfather; Rodney P. Robinson was reelected secretary. The Classical Jury for 1933 will consist of John C. Rolfe, chairman, Cornelia C. Coulter, Roy C. Flickinger, Allan C. Johnson, Arthur S. Pease, Henry A. Sanders, Frederick W. Shipley, Lily Ross Taylor, and B. L. Ullman. It was announced that the Annual Professor at Rome for 1933-34 will be Allan C. Johnson, and for 1934-35, Lily Ross Taylor. The latter will be the first woman to hold this position. In honor of Grant Showerman and his work in connection with the summer session at Rome, former pupils have raised a fund of \$685 with which to purchase books for the Academy library. Since Professor Showerman wishes to retire from this work, no summer session will be held by the Academy in Rome next summer.

#### **Syracuse University**

The Classical Club of Syracuse University under the presidency of Curtis C. Bushnell has printed an attractive program for 1932-33, containing the announcement of lectures by Dr. Bushnell himself, together with Dr. Place, Dr. Austin, Dean Cleasby, Dr. Dickson, and Dr. Davey, and concluding with the annual banquet on May 16. The Roman Saturnalia also was celebrated on December 13.

#### **Webster City, Iowa**

The Aeneidae Latin Club of the Webster City, Ia., High School held a Roman banquet on Monday, November 28, under the direction of Ethel B. Virtue. Members of last year's club were present as guests. Real Roman food, *ab ovo ad mala*, was served with great care; and before the *secunda mensa* Consul Stonebraker offered the customary sacrifice to the gods. In addition to the initiation of new members, the program consisted of Latin songs, Latin conundrums, and essays on various classical themes.

## Recent Books<sup>1</sup>

[Compiled by Russel M. Geer, Brown University.]

- BAIKIE, JAMES, *Egyptian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, a Descriptive Handbook: London, Methuen and Co. (1932). Pp. xxviii + 874. 21s.
- BAILEY, K. C., *Pliny the Elder*, Chapters on Chemical Subjects, Part II: London, Edward Arnold and Co. (1932). Pp. 299. 15s.
- BASORE, JOHN W., *Seneca, the Moral Essays*, with an English Translation, Vol. II (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1932). Pp. xii + 496. \$2.50.
- BROOKE, ALAN E., and McLEAN, NORMAN, *The Old Testament in Greek According to the Text of the Codex Vaticanus*, Supplemented from the Other Uncial MSS., with a Critical Apparatus, Vol. II, The Later Historical Books, Part 3: New York, Macmillan Co. (1932). Pp. vi + 391-556. \$5.50.
- BROWN, PAUL, *The Great Wall of Hadrian in Roman Times*: London, Heath Cranton (1932). Pp. 163. 5s.
- BUCHAN, JOHN, *Julius Caesar*: New York, D. Appleton and Co. (1932). Pp. xii + 158. \$2.
- CARY, MAX, *The Legacy of Alexander*, a History of the Greek World, 323 to 146 B.C.: New York, The Dial Press (1932). Pp. xvi + 448. \$4.
- COHOON, J. W., *Dio Chrysostom*, with an English Translation, Vol. I. (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1932). Pp. xv + 570. \$2.50.
- COLSON, F. H., and WHITAKER, G. H., *Philo*, with an English Translation, Vol. IV (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1932). Pp. x + 582. \$2.50.
- FARNELL, L. R., *The Works of Pindar*, Vol. II, Critical Commentary, Vol. III, Text: New York, Macmillan Co. (1932). Pp. xxix + 489, vii + 184. \$9.
- GLOVER, T. R., *Greek Byways*: London, Cambridge University Press (1932). Pp. viii + 320. 12s. 6d.
- GOULD, H. E., *Lucian, Charon*, with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary (Elementary Classics): London, Macmillan and Co. (1932). Pp. 127. 2s.

<sup>1</sup> Including books received at the Editorial Office of the CLASSICAL JOURNAL in Iowa City, Ia.

- HITCHCOCK, CHARLES H., *Aeschylus, Oresteia*, Translated from the Greek: Boston, Bruce Humphries (1932). Pp. xi + 145. \$2.50.
- JONES, LESLIE W., *The Script of Cologne from Hildebald to Hermann* (Mediaeval Academy Publications, No. 10): Cambridge, Mass., Mediaeval Academy of America (1932). Pp. xi + 98, 100 plates. \$20.
- JONES, LESLIE W., and MOREY, C. R., *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence Prior to the Thirteenth Century*, Vol. II, The Text: Princeton, Princeton University Press (1932). \$12.
- LAISTNER, M. L. W., *Greek History*: New York, D. C. Heath and Co. (1932). Pp. xiii + 485. \$3.40.
- LAWRENCE, LILLIE M., and RAYNOR, N. F., *Work Book for First Year Latin*: New York, American Book Co. (1932). Pp. x + 169. \$0.44.
- LAWSON, J. C., *Aeschylus, Agamemnon*, a Revised Text with Introduction, Verse Translation, and Critical Notes: New York, Macmillan Co. (1932). Pp. xlviii + 168. \$5.
- LEAF, WALTER, *Some Chapters of Autobiography*, with a Memoir by Charlotte M. Leaf: London, John Murray (1932). Pp. 350. 10s. 6d.
- LEWIS, C. B., *Classical Mythology and the Arthurian Romance* (St. Andrews University Publications, No. 32): London, Oxford University Press (1932). Pp. 350. 12s. 6d.
- MACNAUGHTON, DUNCAN, *Scheme of Egyptian Chronology with Notes Thereon Including Notes on Cretean and Other Chronologies*: London, Luzac and Co. (1932). Pp. xii + 405. 25s.
- MAGOFFIN, R. V. D., and HENRY, M. Y., *Latin—First Year*,<sup>2</sup> with a Latin Playlet by Lillian B. Lawler (Climax Series): New York, Silver, Burdett and Co. (1932). Pp. xiii + 433 + 32. \$1.48.
- MURISON, ALEXANDER F., *Vergil, The Bucolics and Georgics Rendered in English Hexameters*: New York, Longmans, Green and Co. (1932). Pp. ix + 129. \$2.50.
- NIXON, PAUL, *Plautus*, with an English Translation, Vol. IV, *The Little Carthaginian, Pseudolus, The Rope* (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1932). Pp. x + 438. \$2.50.
- SHELDON, GILBERT, *The Transition from Roman Britain to Christian England, A.D. 368 to 664*: London, Macmillan and Co. (1932). Pp. xxiii + 219. 10s.
- ULLMAN, B. L., *Ancient Writing and Its Influence* (Our Debt to Greece and Rome): New York, Longmans, Green and Co. (1932). Pp. vii + 234, with 16 plates. \$1.75.
- WEST, ANDREW FLEMING, *American General Education*, a Short Study of Its Present Condition and Needs: Princeton, University Press (1932). Pp. ix + 76. \$1.